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THE EDITOR'S PAGE

Last fall, for the first time in its 246-year history, Baltimore City was the sole topic of a historical conference. Over 200 persons interested in practically every aspect of the city's history attended and participated in the two-day affair planned and directed by an ad hoc committee of interested academics and community representatives. The conference was co-sponsored by the Maryland Historical Society and funded by the Maryland Committee for the Humanities and Pubic Policy. The variety and quality of the papers and panel discussions showed the growing excitement over Baltimore's past. The "Perfect Lady," as H. L. Mencken once labeled Baltimore, is certainly the least studied of the large northeastern cities, and has a richer history than most. Its heritage is one of paradox, being part northern, part southern, with an unusual blend of European ethnic groups and a substantial number of free blacks and slaves. It was the prototype of the boom city, though after its ante-bellum heyday Baltimore entered what in comparison seems almost a century-long hibernation. In the last decade or so the old city appears to have gathered momentum again; now its proud heritage of diverse neighborhoods of distinct ethnic and racial character, tied together to form a heterogeneous city, stands as an obvious urban advantage. Its treasures of usable old buildings, the splendor of its downtown harbor, its great cultural institutions—the Hopkins, the Walters, the Maryland Historical Society, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the Peabody Conservatory, the Maryland Institute of Art, the Baltimore Symphony, the Peale Museum—all with strong ties to the city's past, are visible symbols of why urban life is essential to civilized society. As the city begins to take on a new vitality and rediscover faith in itself, we must remember that Charles Centers and Inner Harbor Projects in themselves, for all their importance, do not a great city make. Every citizen, every businessman, every government official truly committed to this city must recognize that the mind and spirit are what animate urban civilization. Emphasis on skycrapers and subways alone may gain us fortunes, but risks losing our community's soul. Boosterism is alive and well in Baltimore, but let us not forget the whole spectrum of cultural institutions that have done so much—and promise to do more—to maintain the amenities of life. We must support the activities of, and even enlarge the scope and variety of our cultural agencies, if Baltimore is really to aspire to become "Charm City." Knowledge of our history, brought into the active present by lively writing, museum exhibits, and preservation projects, can go a long way toward assuring that we do not destroy the old city in our haste to modernize. In its past Baltimore can find pride, examples of public-spirited action, and architectural distinction. Knowing that the readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* would want to participate vicariously in the Baltimore History Conference, both the Baltimore City Bicentennial Committee and the Maryland Bicentennial Commission gave generous grants making possible this expanded issue. Their support of the past for the sake of the future is a good omen for Baltimore, and all Marylanders.

JOHN B. BOLES

The Woman's Lot in Baltimore Town: 1729–97

KATHRYN ALLAMONG JACOB

WHEN SPEAKING OF WOMEN IN HISTORY, ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, SR., ONCE NOTED, "From reading history textbooks, one would think half of our population made only a negligible contribution to history. . . . "[1] He precisely described the standard histories of Baltimore. One finds lamentably few references to women in the town's traditional chronicles. Those few women who do appear are the lovely belles who captured the hearts of young men at home and abroad and the women who gained recognition by virtue of being the wife, mother, or daughter of a famous gentleman. The widowed mothers of a dozen or more children who built up prosperous businesses and the anonymous women who donated long-labored-over quilts to the war effort are consistently overlooked. Yet these, and even the women accused of horsethievery or bearing bastards, represent the very essence of Baltimore Town's social history.

Created by legislative fiat in 1729, Baltimore was officially called Baltimore Town until it received its city charter in 1797. Rising from almost empty acres along the Patapsco, it lacked the sophistication of its older and more glamorous neighbor, Annapolis. The majority of Baltimore's women were more expert at wielding a needle than a pen. Theirs were the skills of cookery, not composition, and consequently they left few written accounts of themselves. Fortunately, records about these early women were kept by others. Tax, court, land, and church records, wills and inventories, censuses, newspapers, and private papers provide a wealth of information about Baltimore's first women citizens.[2]

The wide variety of information gleaned from this data permits a partial reconstruction of various facets of the Baltimore woman's life, her birth, her marriage, and her legal status. Several specific threads run through the data, creating unity on several levels. One such thread, and one of the most striking, is the very real way in which economics was related to every aspect of the woman's life, from whom and how she would marry to the kinds of problems that resulted in her appearance before the courts. Dependent in childhood upon her father, in middle age upon her husband, and, often, in old age upon her sons, with few exceptions the Baltimore woman's whole life style and social status was largely determined by the wealth of the men in her life.

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1. Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (2nd edition; New York, 1938), p. v.

2. Kathryn Allamong Jacob, "The Women of Baltimore Town: A Social History, 1729–1797" (Master's thesis, Georgetown University, 1975).

The wealth of her father or husband determined whether she would wear silks and damasks or coarse linen and osnaburg; whether her food would be sweetened with expensive sugar or plain honey. Her house might be an elegant, multistory brick dwelling or a two room, readily combustible wooden structure. For amusement, she might attend the gay assemblies and banquets or gossip with a neighbor while they made soap together—it all depended on her economic status.

Aside from such tangible and obvious evidence of economic differences as dress, diet, and housing, economic considerations clearly affected the woman's prospects in the marriage market. Colonial society exerted great pressure on both men and women to marry. Though matrimony was held up to men as a pleasant duty, the bachelor's tax levied by Maryland reflected the widespread belief that the unmarried man was evading his moral and civic responsibility.[3] While merely one, albeit an important one, of the many facets of the man's life, marriage and procreation were thought to be the only role for which women were suited.

In 1666 promoter George Alsop sought to lure women to Maryland by promising them that they would soon find "copulative matrimony" and have no fears lest their "virginity turn moldy."[4] A poem in Dunlap's *Maryland Gazette* exhorted women to accept their fate:

> Reserved the stern decrees of fate,
> Do everything—but get a mate.[5]

And get mates they did. As marriage and birth records show, most Baltimore women, rich and poor alike, did marry. From the town's beginning, women were outnumbered by men, making theirs a "seller's market."

The English laws forbidding marriage between persons related by "consanguinity or affinity" were in effect in colonial Maryland. They forbade, for example, a woman from marrying her late husband's grandfather.[6] However, a far more effective regulator of marriage than such laws was the social convention which required parental consent to a match. The considerations which governed the decisions of parents were both prudent and shrewd—the more money involved, the harder the bargaining. As Charles Carroll of Carrollton's father pointed out to him, there were certain qualities a man of breeding should look for in a wife. She should be virtuous, sensible, good-natured, complacent, neat and cheerful, of a good size, well-proportioned, and free from hereditary disorders. She should also, of course, be wealthy, or, as the elder Carroll cautioned, "at the very least, of a good family."[7]

A prospective bride's share, or expected share, of worldly goods was carefully scrutinized by both the potential groom and his father. Marriage announcements unabashedly referring to Baltimore brides as "Miss Jane Low, a most agreeable lady with a large and handsome fortune" were common.[8] When the lady's fortune was "handsome," a pre-nuptial agreement often culminated her courtship. In

3. *Archives of Maryland*, ed. William H. Brown *et al.*, 72 vols. to date (Baltimore, 1883–), 32:95.
4. Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland: 1633–1684* (New York, 1910), p. 137.
5. *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette and Baltimore General Advertiser* (Baltimore), July 3, 1775.
6. *Laws of Maryland*, Virgil Maxcy, ed., 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1811), 1:332–36.
7. "Extracts from the Carroll Papers," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (hereinafter *MHM*), 11 (September 1916): 272–74.
8. John Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 224.

such contracts, the bride was guaranteed a certain standard of living and rights to certain property in the event that her husband died before she did, and the groom was given a complete inventory of the property to come his way in the form of the dowry.

Though of paramount importance to the town's wealthiest citizens, the need for a firm economic foundation for a marriage was also recognized by the less affluent. Whether a multiacre estate or a set of linen sheets, nearly every bride brought certain material goods to the union. Similarly, the groom, no matter how humble, usually gave assurances of bed and board to his bride. Evidence suggests that among Baltimore's lower classes, love and marriage were more spontaneous than they were for the wealthy. Where there was little of either prestige or property to inherit, parental blessings were less coveted.

Once courtship was officially under way, thoughts could realistically turn to the wedding. Despite such notable exceptions as the marriage of fourteen-year-old Sophia Gough to James Maccubin Carroll, the years between eighteen and twenty appear to be the most popular ones for the first marriages of Baltimore's young women of all classes.[9] For the middle and lower classes, evidence points toward a near parity in ages of spouses at first marriage. A typical union was that of twenty-one-year-old William Brown, a currier, and nineteen-year-old Mary Mattox in June 1795.[10] Among the wealthy, cases such as that of forty-year-old Charles Carroll, the Barrister, marrying nineteen-year-old Margaret Tilghman, and thirty-one-year-old Charles Carroll of Carrollton marrying fourteen-year-old Mary Darnall were not uncommon.[11]

As it still does today, the lavishness of the eighteenth-century Baltimore wedding depended on the wealth of the bride's father. Though the weddings of the rich were splendid and lengthy affairs, most Baltimoreans visited their church for a simple ceremony followed by a family dinner. Such must certainly have been what William Duncan, a cooper who had seven attractive daughters to marry off, hoped for.[12]

While most Baltimore couples appear to have lived together peacefully, conjugal felicity was far from universal. One finds husbands expressing great confidence in their wives by naming them as their executrixes. In his will, John Smithson lovingly wrote of his wife, "All I have I leave her and if I had more she should enjoy it."[13] On the other hand, nearly every issue of Baltimore's weekly *Maryland Journal* contained notices like the following:

> As Elizabeth Marken hath absconded from her husband's bed, I do forewarn all persons not to trust her on my account.
>
> Samuel Marken[14]

9. Edith Rossiter Bevan, "Perry Hall: Country Seat of the Gough and Carroll Families," *MHM*, 45 (March 1950):38–39; Lillian Giffen, "Mount Clare: Baltimore," *MHM*, 42(March 1948):30; First Presbyterian Church Records, Microfilm Reel No. 278, Maryland Historical Society (hereinafter MHS); Rev. Lewis Richards Papers, First Baptist Church of Baltimore, (MS. 690), MHS; St. Paul's Parish Records, Microfilm Reel No. 283, MHS.
10. Rev. Lewis Richards Papers, First Baptist Church of Baltimore, Marriage Records, June 1795, (MS. 690), MHS.
11. Kate Mason Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, 2 vols. (New York, 1898), 1:86–87.
12. First Presbyterian Church Records, Birth Records, 1772–90, Microfilm Reel No. 278, MHS.
13. *Archives of Maryland*, 4:45–46.
14. *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette*, April 21, 1778.

In addition to protecting themselves from debts incurred by their runaway wives, some husbands sought publicly to embarrass their spouses, often to the point of admitting to be cuckolds, by declaring them to be "harlots" and "unworthy persons."[15] Not all such repudiations went unchallenged. After her husband had renounced her as his wife, Mary McLaughlin countered, "His assertion is false; and altho' I do not think he is worthy the name of husband, yet he is certainly mine."[16] The couples who resorted to such damning rhetoric were never members of "society." City directories reveal them to be common laborers and generally unskilled.[17] This is not, however, to imply that the wealthy lived in constant harmony, but rather that they preferred to keep their marital problems more private.

Though a few husbands claimed their wives had been lured away by other men or were "disordered in the mind," one is left to ponder the reasons which prompted several dozen wives to leave their homes. Though under Maryland law physical punishment was a husband's prerogative, there is no evidence that abuse of this privilege caused wives to flee.

After a brief period, several absconding wives returned home. Indeed, for some wives, running away seems to have been a way of getting a vacation from the monotony of domesticity. A postscript to one of Mr. Starr's advertisements in 1756 for his wife Susanna indicated that this was her fourth elopement.[18]

Though certainly more vocal when vexed, husbands were not the only harried spouses in Baltimore Town. Other evidence suggests that the wife's patience was equally tried. The numerous cases of women arraigned before the court on charges of keeping a "disorderly" or "bawdy house" indicate that there was ample opportunity for husbands to philander. That several accepted the invitation is suggested by the bastardy cases in which the mother named a married man as the father of her illegitimate child.[19]

Like those who advertised their spouses, the offenders named in adultery and bastardy cases were rarely individuals of high social standing. However, this is not to say that wealthy gentlemen were models of fidelity. Money, not morality, brought the unwed mother to court. The object was to charge someone with the bastard's support. Gentlemen usually had sufficient funds to make private compensation for their indiscretions, thus avoiding public censure.[20]

A woman was not only expected to wed, despite uncertain prospects for happiness, but to bear children as well—legitimate ones, of course. Baltimore's women were very "fruitful vines." According to the 1790 census, the average Baltimore family consisted of a mother, father, and five children.[21] However,

15. *The Maryland Journal and the Baltimore Advertiser* (Baltimore), January 20, 1774.
16. *The Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 13, 1748.
17. *The Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory* (Baltimore, 1796).
18. *Maryland Gazette*, January 29, 1756.
19. The histories of cases can be reconstructed from the following records: Court Proceedings of Baltimore County, 1733–34, Baltimore City Hall; Criminal Docket of the Baltimore Court, 1790, Baltimore City Hall; Docket of the Baltimore Court of Common Pleas, 1765, Baltimore City Hall; Baltimore City and County Court Records, 1757–1760, (MS. 66), MHS; G. M. Brumbaugh Papers, Baltimore County Court Records, 1760, (MS. 1972), MHS.
20. Gerald Hartdagen, "Vestries and Morals in Colonial Maryland," *MHM* 63 (December 1968):362–66.
21. *First Census of the United States: 1790, Maryland* (Washington, 1907). Calculated from figures found on pp. 9, 17–23.

such an average family is hard to find. Comprising this figure are families of nine, eleven, and even thirteen children and couples who had only one child.

Large families were common among both the rich and poor. Ellin North, reputedly the first baby born in Baltimore Town, married John Moale and became the mother of thirteen.[22] The town's original surveyor, Philip Jones, was the father of fifteen: his first wife bore him two children before her death, and his second thirteen more.[23] William Patterson and his wife, the former Dorcus Spear, had thirteen children, one of whom was the famous Betsy.[24] Cooper William Duncan and his wife Rebecca had eleven children in twenty-four years.[25]

While some local women were prevented from having more babies only by old age, others sadly found themselves unable to bear any at all. Though wealthy women seem particularly plagued with barrenness, they may simply have been more noteworthy because of the inheritance problems they created. Rebecca Dorsey Ridgely could produce no heirs for her husband, Charles Ridgely, the builder. He left Hampton to his nephew, Charles Ridgely Carnan, but required him to change his name to Charles Carnan Ridgely, in hopes that the family name would live on. The builder would have been gratified to know that his nephew and his wife, Priscilla Dorsey Ridgely, younger sister of Rebecca, the builder's barren wife, had several children, including future male heirs.[26]

Margaret Tilghman Carroll produced no heir for the Barrister's Mount Clare, and he too left his estate to a nephew, James Maccubin, also requiring him to change his name. James Maccubin Carroll and his young bride, Sophia Gough, realized the elder Carroll's hopes by having four sons and two daughters, three of whom married the offspring of Charles and Priscilla Ridgely.[27]

Birth records reveal an interesting trend among Baltimore's prolific mothers. In many families there is apparent a great regularity in the spacing of children. The two year interval was most common. For example, the seven children of shipfitter James Biays and his wife Mary were born in 1786, 1788, 1790, 1792, 1794, 1796, and 1798.[28] This regularity in the spacing of births is especially interesting in light of recent studies on the effects of nursing on conception. These studies suggest that, for many women, unsupplemented breast feeding acts as a natural birth control, altering the mother's hormonal balance in such a way as to make conception unlikely until the first child is weaned.[29]

Most middle and lower class Baltimore mothers did nurse their own infants. Indeed, the question of the suckling of infants was receiving much attention in the contemporary women's guides. To the considerable dismay of moralists, wealthy women throughout the colonies were beginning to turn their infants over

22. Margie Luckett, *Maryland Women* (Baltimore, 1931), p. 311.
23. Joseph Legg Collection, Old Town Notebook, p. 10 (MS. 539), MHS.
24. Virginia Tatnall Peacock, *Famous American Belles of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 42.
25. First Presbyterian Church Records, Birth Records, 1772–90, Duncan family.
26. Giffen, "Mount Clare," pp. 29–34.
27. Bevan, "Perry Hall," p. 43.
28. First Presbyterian Church Records, Birth records, 1780–95, Biays family.
29. J. K. VanGinneken, "Prolonged Breast Feeding as a Birth Spacing Method," *Studies in Family Planning*, 11 (June, 1974):201–6; A. Perez, "First Ovulation after Childbirth: The Effect of Breast Feeding," *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 114 (December 15, 1972):1141–47; Dana Raphael, "When Mothers Need Mothering," *New York Times Magazine* (February 8, 1970):67–70.

to wet nurses, who were often black, in order to return to the social whirl unhindered. As the following advertisement indicates, Baltimore's wealthy women were following the fashionable trend: "Wanted: a nurse with a good breast of milk, of a healthy constitution and good character, that is willing to go into a gentleman's family."[30]

Wealthy women were also scandalizing many townspeople by having their babies delivered by male doctors rather than by one of several local midwives. The presence of a male doctor at the delivery was considered by many to be a terrible compromise of female modesty, one which "sullied the chastity and tainted the purity of the clients."[31] Despite the attendance of midwives or doctors, mothers both rich and poor died in childbirth with shocking frequency. Even if the mother survived, she often never fully recovered her health. All too frequently, tombstone inscriptions tell of mothers succumbing to the strain well before middle age.[32]

Time and time again, Baltimore mothers laid down their lives or ruined their health only to bring forth babies for the grave. While church records reveal many births, the wills of the period show few large families. The tiny graves in local churchyards explain the difference. For example, next to their mother's grave in the Westminister Presbyterian Church cemetery lie the graves of three of her daughters who died at ages eight months, eleven months, and twelve years.[33] Infant mortality knew no class boundaries. Charles and Mary Carroll lost four of their seven children before adulthood.[34]

Not all Baltimore Town mothers were wives as well. Several bastardy cases were brought before the court each year, and these probably represented only a fraction of the actual illegitimate births. But since court records are one of the few sources for the study of women in early Baltimore, and of course only illegitimate children would figure in such records, any account based on the sources will document a disproportionate number of bastards. Almost without exception, these unwed mothers were indentured servants.[35]

Indentured servants were prevented by law from marrying without the consent of their masters. Masters were naturally reluctant to approve of a relationship which would probably result in childbearing, loss of service during pregnancy, and the real possibility of death or permanent damage to health. Though the framers of the law must have thought it an effective deterrent to marriage and pregnancy, it merely served to create some quite prolific unwed mothers. For example, the town was barely three years old when two servant women were charged with bearing bastards. One Abigail Geer confessed to giving birth to four illegitimate children in as many years.[36]

The master's main concern in prosecuting his servant was finding a culprit to

30. *Maryland Gazette*, April 4, 1790.
31. Spruill, *Women's Life and Work*, p. 275.
32. Westminister Presbyterian Church Cemetery Records, Microfilm Reel No. 278, MHS.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Thomas O'Brian Hanley, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton: Making of a Revolutionary Gentleman* (Washington, 1970), pp. 168–70.
35. Court Proceedings of Baltimore County, 1733–34.
36. *Ibid.*, August Session, p. 40; November Session, p. 141.

reimburse him for the loss of her labor during pregnancy. Townspeople, who did not want the bastard to become a public tax burden, were equally concerned that the father be found. If she refused to divulge the father's name under routine questioning, and if she had not yet been delivered of her child, the question of paternity was often put to the unwed mother in the midst of her labor pains—a method which proved most effective.[37]

If she named a man and he was found guilty, he was ordered to maintain his offspring. Servant Margaret Hollyday swore that Daniel Hare was the father of her bastard son, Isaac. Hare was convicted and fined. A few months later, he was also charged with keeping a disorderly house.[38] If the unwed mother refused to reveal the father's name, she could be fined or physically punished.[39] The aforementioned Agibail Geer was whipped "on her bare back with twenty lashes well laid until the blood appeared," and fined as well.[40]

Most of the illegitimate children born to servant women were mulattoes. Their mothers, who had names like Bridget Kelly and Margaret Yerby, appear to have been white, suggesting that sexual relations between white women and black men of low status were somewhat commonplace.

Black slave women appear to have given birth to bastards as frequently as did white servant women. However, instead of being punished, in some cases slave women were encouraged to be fruitful. Unlike the servant woman, the female slave was owned for life and her offspring was valuable enough in trade that the time lost during her pregnancy was but a little inconvenience. Though the cohabitation of white men with "women of color" was forbidden by law, visitors' observations of slave women with broods of mulatto children suggest that such laws were frequently broken.[41]

Infant bastards were almost always taken from their servant mothers and sold into servitude for a customary period of thirty-one years.[42] However, unwed mothers were not the only poor Baltimore women to be parted from their young children. Newspapers and court records suggest that among large, poor families, children were often bound out at an early age as apprentices and helpers. For example, nine-year-old Elizabeth Powell was bound out by her father for seven years, and the penniless Widow Robins bound out her young son to a carpenter for ten years.[43]

For the little girls who remained at home, family finances determined what type of education, if any, they would receive. Even in the wealthiest of families, while sons were well educated, daughters received no formal education. Many of their fathers subscribed to the belief that a woman needed only domestic talents to find happiness. Some wealthy young women, such as Catherine Carroll, whom the signer sent to England to be educated, received excellent training in the

37. *Archives of Maryland*, 2:396–97.
38. Brumbaugh Papers, Baltimore County Court Records, June Session, 1760, pp. 12–17.
39. *Archives of Maryland*, 2:396–97.
40. Court Proceedings of Baltimore County, 1733–34, August Session, p. 140; November Session, p. 141.
41. Spruill, *Women's Life and Work*, pp. 176–77.
42. Brumbaugh Papers, Baltimore County Court Recrods, 1760, March, June, August, and November Sessions, pp. 1–51.
43. *Ibid.*

sciences and literature.[44] Most, however, simply learned genteel, drawingroom accomplishments.

Schools like those of Mary Anne March of Annapolis which offered "young misses all sorts of embroidery, Turkey work and all sorts of rich stitches," and Mary Salisbury's, which offered "French, tapestry, embroidery with gold and silver and all education fit for young ladies," lured several Baltimore girls to the colony's capital.[45] Other fashionable boarding schools in Philadelphia and Charlestown advertised for pupils in Baltimore's newspapers and promised to teach all manner of subjects from silhouette cutting to clear-starching.

For the many middle-class Baltimore girls whose fathers could not afford expensive finishing schools, opportunities for education were few. Though four Baltimore women listed themselves as schoolmistresses in 1796, their modest schools were not free and offered little more than the barest rudiments of education.[46] No free schools existed for Baltimore girls in this period. For the poorest girls, the servants, education was nearly nonexistent. Unlike Virginia and North Carolina, Maryland's apprentice laws did not require a master to teach his charge to read and write, and thus few did.[47]

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to find that many of Baltimore's women were illiterate. Even women of prominent families could not write their names. For example, wealthy widow Letticia Raven, executrix of a large estate and guardian of nine children, signed official documents with her mark—a large carefully drawn "L."[48]

While homemaking was the sole employment of a majority of Baltimore Town women, several women were employed outside the home. They did not venture into the business world because time hung heavy on their hands; they did so out of financial necessity. To cut expenses, the wives of storekeepers and tradesmen often helped their husbands in their shops. Though often illiterate, by close association these wives learned enough of their husbands' trades to continue on alone in the event their husbands predeceased them and left behind a large family for the mothers to support. Other women, who did not inherit shops, began their own. These were generally spinsters or recent widows who found themselves suddenly penniless. Either unable or unwilling to live with parents or siblings, such women sought to support themselves.

Whatever her reasons, there seems to have been nothing in the eighteenth-century social or economic code of Baltimore to prevent a woman from working outside the home. Indeed, local poor laws encouraged single women to work lest they become recipients of tax-funded relief. While the number of women engaged in business never exceeded 5 percent of all local women, they are a very significant group. In 1796, 259 of the city's nearly six thousand women were heads of households and made up 8 percent of the total number of householders. Two-thirds of these women were widows, and the remainder were spinsters. Two-thirds of these women also had outside occupations, but the proportion of

44. Peacock, *Famous American Belles*, p. 41.
45. *Maryland Gazette*, March 27, 1751; February 21, 1754.
46. *The Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory* (1796).
47. Spruill, *Women's Life and Work*, pp. 188–90.
48. Brumbaugh Papers, Baltimore Court Records, 1760, November Session, pp. 28–51.

business women was not evenly distributed between widows and spinsters. Only 45 percent of the widows had occupations, compared to 92 percent of the spinsters. Such discrepancies are often explained by the widow's substantial inheritance, which enabled her to forgo outside employment.[49]

Baltimore Town's working women were engaged in more than twenty-five different professions ranging from baking to watchmaking to millinery.[50] By far the largest number of working women were involved in some facet of the clothing trade. Fifty-five women listed themselves as seamstresses in 1796, and they clearly monopolized the trade. Several local women earned small fortunes as proprietresses of "tasteful" shops, and some even employed assistants. In 1774 Barbara Bence was advertising for a "sober, industrious person" to aid her in the tailor's business.[51]

Laundering was popular among poor women with little money to invest. The laundress's trade, however, required more than merely soap, water, and stamina. Various local washerwomen advertised themselves as accomplished practitioners of dyeing, glazing, silk cleaning, clear-starching, and lace blocking. The boarding house proprietress was another common figure. She ranged from the woman who furnished a modest room and simple meals to the elegant hostess whose genteel accommodations were known throughout the colonies. When the Continental Congress fled to Baltimore in 1777, John Adams stayed at the fashionable inn owned by Mrs. Ross. He wrote Abigail that his accommodations were excellent except "for the monstrous price of things here."[52]

Another prominent innkeeper was Shinah Solomon Etting, matriarch of one of the town's first Jewish families. After her husband's death in 1778, Mrs. Etting moved her family from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to Baltimore Town. Using nearly all of her inheritance, she had a spacious home built to her own specifications on Market Street where she established her family and began to take in boarders. Mrs. Etting's business thrived. She used her profits to aid the business ventures of her two prominent sons: Reuben, who became a United States marshall and noted military leader, and Solomon, who built up a prosperous shipping and wholesale business, became president of the city council, and director of a local bank in which his mother and sisters held stock.[53]

Not all of the inns run by women were reputable establishments. A good deal more than a night's sleep could be procured at some. Each court session brought forth women arraigned for "keeping a bawdy house" and "selling liquors without a license." One Ann Heron was charged with three different counts of the former offense during one session alone.[54]

In addition to boarding houses and seamstress shops, Baltimore's women ran grocery and dry good stores, and pastry, crockery, and bran meal shops. Two women were sausagemakers.[55] The town's most famous businesswoman was

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49. *The Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory* (1796).
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Maryland Gazette*, June 30, 1774.
52. Edith Rossiter Bevan, "The Continental Congress in Baltimore," *MHM*, 42 (March 1947):21–28.
53. Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1910), p. 36
54. Criminal Docket of the Baltimore Court, August Session, 1790.
55. *The Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory* (1796).

Mary Catharine Goddard, who not only published the *Maryland Journal* throughout the war years but also served as the town's first postmistress as well.[56] Other women who, like Miss Goddard, were engaged in "unwomanly" businesses included Widow Hudson, who ran a thriving brick factory on the edge of town,[57] and Widow Ann Rawlins, who took over her late husband's ornamental plaster works.[58]

Tax and land records reveal other ways in which the independent female heads of households with no listed occupations supported themselves. Several women grew wealthy as land speculators and landlords, and by hiring out their slaves at a considerable profit. Of course, such careers required a substantial outlay of either earned or inherited capital. For women who could afford to enter it, the land market repaid them handsomely.

When Baltimore Town was first laid out, many wealthy men hesitated to buy lots, fearing the enterprise would collapse as had two other attempts at founding towns called Baltimore. However, wealthy women who were either less cautious or more shrewd soon appeared to purchase and speculate in prime lots. Mary Hanson, a widow, became the first woman to purchase town lots when in 1740 she bought lots five and six from the commissioners. She sold them seven years later, unimproved, at a profit.[59]

Among the displaced French Acadians who found their way to Baltimore Town in the 1750s were single women with both an eye for property and the wealth to purchase it. Within two years of their arrival, four French women had bought lots in the area of the town that came to be known as French Town.[60] On board the ships which arrived in Baltimore in 1793 full of planters fleeing revolt-torn San Domingo were other French women whose wealth and independence rivaled that of their male shipmates. By 1796, ten San Domingan women, eight widows and two spinsters, owned town lots.[61]

The detailed records of the federal tax assessment of 1798 provide a wealth of information about Baltimore's landed women. In that year, over four hundred of the approximately six thousand free white women in the city were property owners. While many women owned only the tiny plot of ground upon which their modest frame houses stood, several women owned a dozen or more residential and commercial properties. Mary Nichols owned nine commercial lots and two residential lots valued at over $6,000. Some of these land-wealthy women qualify for the modern title of "slum lords" or "ladies." They apparently owned a number of houses in poor neighborhoods which they did not improve but rented at high rates—all the while living in comfortable three-story brick mansions some distance away.[62]

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56. Joseph Wheeler, *The Maryland Press* (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 2–18.
57. Commissioners of Baltimore Town, *First Records of Baltimore Town and Jones Town: 1729–1797* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 72.
58. Rodris Roth, "Interior Decoration of City Houses in Baltimore: The Federal Period," *The Winterthur Portfolio* 10 vols. to date (Charlottesville, 1964–), 5:73.
59. Commissioners of Baltimore Town, *First Records*, pp. 9, 16, 22.
60. Joseph Legg Collection, Miscellaneous Notebook, pp. 77–88.
61. *The Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory* (1796).
62. Federal Assessment of the City of Baltimore, 1798, Microfilm Reel Nos. 604–5, MHS; *First Census, 1790, Maryland*, pp. 17–23.

Many of these female lot owners undoubtedly inherited rather than purchased their property. Whether they bought or inherited, the women of Baltimore were responsible for the same taxes and fines as local men. In 1786 a Mrs. Clifton was fined for not tending to her chimney. In 1787 a Mrs. Agnes Thompson was assessed five pounds for paving the street in front of her home on Light Street. Civic responsibility was also shouldered by Baltimore's women. When a subscription was taken up in 1748 to erect a fence to enclose local pigs, one of the subscribers was property owner Hannah Hughes, a midwife.[63]

Wills and inventories of the period reveal the wide variety of other types of property owned by the women of Baltimore Town. A few appear to have found livestock to be a profitable investment. Mary Bowen left a variety of farm animals plus hams and sides of beef to her children.[64] The seemingly endless inventory of articles in Ellin North Moale's house on Pratt Street included a half dozen beds, four dozen chairs, and a large quantity of silver.[65] In the absence of banks, money was invested in property.

The same wills that yield information about household goods provide clues to another type of property owned by Baltimore's wealthy women—human property. After dispensing with her sugar bowls and candlesticks, Mrs. Moale's will stipulated "that my mulatto woman Lydia shall not be sold—but choose which of my children to live with. . . . My negro woman Henny shall be given freedom at my death."[66] Several other local women who owned slaves bequeathed them along with their furniture and jewelry to close friends and children.

By the census of 1790 there were 1,255 black slaves among Baltimore's 13,503 inhabitants.[67] In that year, twenty-two Baltimore women were slaveowners and together they owned sixty-six slaves or .5 percent of the town's slave population.[68] Several of these slaves were women. Nothing states quite so dramatically the vast differences in status among Baltimore's women as do the advertisements like the following by Mary Porter in which one woman is literally selling another: "To be sold: a negro wench and three girls aged from three to eleven, a wagon, horses, hogs and cattle."[69]

Female indentured servants were also common in early Baltimore. Though they would someday be free, while in bondage they were at the mercy of their masters and mistresses. Occasionally, a servant woman would be sold before her term expired. Curiosity-arousing notices like the following appeared with some regularity: "To be sold: a healthy servant girl with three and one-half years to serve. A good spinner. The reason why her time is to be sold the purchaser will be informed of. Inquire—John McCabe."[70] Mr. McCabe was not very successful in selling his servant. His advertisement ran almost three months. One can only guess that the spinner's secret must have been a dastardly one.

63. Commissioners of Baltimore Town, *First Records*, p. 35.
64. Baltimore County Calendar of Wills, Maryland Hall of Records, IV, p. 355; II, p. 157; Baltimore County Inventories of Wills, Maryland Hall of Records, XVI, p. 15.
65. Inventory of Wills, XXV, pp. 374–78.
66. Calendar of Wills, XII, p. 111.
67. *First Census, 1790, Maryland*, pp. 19–23.
68. Federal Assessment of the City of Baltimore, 1798.
69. *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette*, March 4, 1777.
70. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1777.

Slave and servant women had almost no legal rights, but in this respect they were not unlike their married mistresses. Almost without exception, both rich and poor married women, the *femes covert*, were legal non-entities. The husband had the right physically to chastise his wife and had exclusive rights to any property she might have owned as a single woman, to her dower, and to any wages or property that might come to her while his wife. Only by the prenuptial contracts of the wealthy or specific provisions in wills could a married woman own anything at all.[71]

Married women in Maryland could make no wills or valid contracts, nor could they sue or be sued. While in most colonies married women could conduct business in the courts as agents for their husbands, this right had been abruptly revoked in Maryland in 1658 by Governor Fendall.[72] Single women and widows, the *femes sole*, on the other hand, had considerable legal rights. They were considered competent enough to own land, enter into contracts and deeds, write wills, execute estates, bring suit, and be sued.[73]

Local court and land records indicate that many of Baltimore Town's *femes sole* vigorously exercised all the rights and privileges to which they were entitled. The women of the prominent Fell family emerge from deeds and bills of sale as particularly shrewd land owners. Ann, Jannett, and Catherine Fell, daughters of William Fell, the founder of Fell's Point, each owned considerable acreage which they leased or sold in their own names at considerable profit. Their brother Edward died a young man and left behind his widow Ann to execute his very large estate and hold it in trust for their son, William. Though she soon remarried, by a prenuptial contract Mrs. Ann Fell Giles retained the right to manage the estate free from Mr. Giles's interference, and she passed it on to young William undiminished.[74]

Several *femes sole* frequently appeared before the court of common pleas as defendants and plaintiffs in cases involving debts. Such women were generally the widows of middle-class tradesmen who, as executrixes, were trying to recoup debts owed to their late husbands. Gender apparently carried little weight with local judges. Every one of the women who brought suit for outstanding debts won her case. Similarly, every man who brought suit, even if against a woman, won his.[75]

The docket of the criminal court reveals the more serious crimes with which local women were charged. Of all the women brought before this court, the female indentured servant was the most common. An early case was that of servant Elizabeth Green, convicted of arson for setting fire to Mr. William Bosley's corn crib and hen house. Though the crimes of the female indentured servants ranged from "uttering imparlances" to brawling in the streets, they were most often in court on charges of bastardy. Indeed, in the early years, such cases nearly overwhelmed all others.[76]

71. Sophie Drinker, "Women Attorneys in Colonial Times," *MHM*, 56 (December 1961):335–51.
72. *Archives of Maryland*, 41:233.
73. Drinker, "Women Attorneys," pp. 335–51.
74. The Bond Family Papers, "Leases and Deeds of the Fell Family", 1756, 1762, 1768, 1771, (MS. 61), MHS.
75. Docket of the Baltimore Court of Common Pleas, 1765.
76. Court Proceedings of Baltimore County, 1733–34.

The most common offense of non-servant women was running a "bawdy" or "disorderly" house and the companion charge of selling liquors without a license. Rebecca Hall was charged with four such counts in just one year. Other felonies with which such women were charged ranged from bigamy to horse thievery to receiving stolen goods. The women who committed these crimes were neither wealthy nor of high social standing. The names of the town's socially prominent women do not appear on felony records.[77]

Though Baltimore's chronicles give the impression that the contributions made by local women were negligible, primary sources prove otherwise. Baltimore's women came in all varieties, each of which has made unique contributions to local culture. One important factor in determining the type of life the Baltimore woman would lead was her share, or, more accurately, her father's and husband's share, of worldly goods.

Aside from such tangible evidence of wealth as dress, diet, and the number and quality of household goods, the woman's desirability as a marriage partner, the quality of her life, and her own self-image were all determined by her place on the economic ladder. While all free married women, both rich and poor, were virtually legal non-entities and all women were politically powerless, life for the woman who was free, no matter what her social status, was very different from that of the woman in bondage. Superficially, one might wear brocades, while the other wore coarse linen. More significantly, one might own property, while the other was someone's property. We are just beginning to understand the woman's lot in Baltimore Town, and the social history of Maryland will be incomplete until we know more about the distaff side of the past in every region and period.

77. Criminal Docket of the Baltimore Court, 1790.

Business and Commerce in Baltimore on the Eve of Independence

PAUL KENT WALKER

DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, SETTLEMENT OF THE Maryland and Pennsylvania backcountry and increased production of grain coupled with a rising demand for grain exports in the West Indies, Europe, and Britain contributed substantially toward making a special future out of Baltimore Town's uncertain beginnings. At first the process seemed to favor no one community. For example, Charlestown, founded in Cecil County in 1742, rivaled Baltimore and Joppa. But important conditions like Baltimore's proximity to both the backcountry and Philadelphia, its connection with those places by roads, its superior facilities for navigation, and the drive of its businessmen gradually determined that the majority of the new backcountry trade and a steadily increasing amount of the grain traffic from Maryland's Eastern Shore would fall into Baltimore's hands.

War in the 1750s and '60s stimulated Baltimore's growth as it would again to a much greater degree in the 1770s and '80s. Opportunities presented by wartime commerce acted as a drawing card to enterprising outsiders who sought vigorously to direct as much trade as possible their way. Some came from abroad, as did Ebenezer Mackie who managed the Baltimore business of Glasgow's Speirs, French, and Company. Men already in Baltimore, like William Lux, expanded trade into the West Indies. Others attracted to Baltimore at this time were John Smith, William Buchanan, James Sterett, and Melchior Keener from Pennsylvania and Samuel and Robert Purviance from Ireland. The town's image rapidly changed as Smith, Buchanan, and Keener built homes, warehouses, and wharves and the Purviances erected a rum distillery.[1]

The rising number of Baltimore-owned ships cleared from Annapolis during the French and Indian War further demonstrated the expansive nature of the Baltimore commercial community just prior to the dawning of the revolutionary era. It was during this time that Baltimore initiated trade with areas that later became major points of commercial contact. Commerce with one such area—the West Indies—was destined to play a crucial role in shaping Baltimore's future.[2]

Though commercial activity in Baltimore Town would substantially increase

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1. Frank A. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752-1839* (Madison, 1971), p. 5; John Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 52-53.

2. Annapolis Port of Entry Record Books, 1756-1775, (MS. 21), 2 volumes, Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MHS).

and mature during the revolutionary period, ways of organizing and conducting business, kinds of goods involved in trade, and areas of commercial intercourse were being fixed upon early in the era. In all their endeavors, Baltimore businessmen characteristically followed the example set by the older, more established urban centers like Philadelphia and New York. In particular, where the organization and conduct of business were concerned, Baltimoreans, as did their compatriots in commercial enterprise elsewhere, followed practices that were nearly identical to those in Great Britain.

A partnership was the most common form of business organization. In some cases a partnership was formed for one particular venture and thereafter terminated. Some men participated simultaneously in several partnerships and carried on a separate business as well. For example, shopkeeper Thomas Usher was one-half involved with Joseph Donaldson in the firm of Usher and Donaldson, partially involved in Usher and Roe, and two-thirds concerned in Thomas Usher and Company. At the same time, Usher was entitled to a share of the debts due the partnership of Hughes and Williamson, indicating perhaps a silent involvement in that concern.[3]

Going into business with a member of one's family was a natural step and one by which many men entered the merchant ranks. John Smith and Daniel McHenry brought sons into business; brothers Samuel and Robert Purviance and John, Samuel, and David Sterett entered business together; William Lux and his nephew, Daniel Bowly, joined in partnership. Intermarriage also furthered business alliances. The children of John Smith married well. Robert married a cousin, Margaret, the daughter of merchant William Smith. Samuel, another of John's sons, married the daughter of William Spear, himself a merchant of standing who had erected a bakery in Baltimore Town in 1764. Also, several of John Smith's daughters married merchants. A significant marital connection occurred in the family of William Lux when his brother Darby married Rachel, the daughter of John Ridgely.[4]

Baltimore merchants before independence were characterized by the variety of business in which they engaged. Few specialized in any one phase of activity, and if so, they soon branched out into other areas. Most commonly, merchants handled dry goods. Some conducted their business only on a wholesale basis, but very often a Baltimore merchant announced that he sold goods both wholesale and retail.

Just as some Philadelphia and Annapolis merchants established branch stores in Baltimore, so too Baltimoreans were from time to time involved with other stores outside Baltimore Town. In 1765 William Lux offered a substantial inventory of imported goods for sale at his store in Elk-Ridge Landing. John Ashburner, in partnership with Thomas Place, sold Liverpool and London imports at stores both in Baltimore and Alexandria, and Archibald Buchanan in copartnership with Alexander Cowan operated a store at Joppa.[5]

3. Inventory of Thomas Usher, Liber 14, Baltimore County Inventories, Maryland Hall of Records (hereafter MHR).
4. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 56. Smith Family Genealogy, Vertical Genealogical File, MHS.
5. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), August 11, 1763; Joshua Johnson to Archibald Buchanan, March 1, 1774, Wallace, Davidson and Johnson Letterbook, June 1771–September 1777, MHR.

To the business of selling dry goods, whether at wholesale or retail, Baltimore merchants frequently added shipowning. The Annapolis Port of Entry Record Books, Entries and Clearances, 1757–1775, in the Maryland Historical Society, provide the fullest account of the activities of Baltimore shippers in the period down to independence.[6] These records indicate that a sizeable number of Baltimoreans became engaged in shipping. For the year 1766 eight different owners were represented among the thirteen vessels entered at Annapolis and known to be Baltimore-owned. In 1771 ownership of the thirty-two entries was divided among sixteen Baltimoreans, while seventeen different men owned the forty vessels cleared at Annapolis.

In most cases ships were registered under the ownership of one individual or company, but joint ownership, which minimized risk, was not unlikely. Joint ventures usually brought in only a few others—men not themselves ordinarily engaged in shipping, or occasionally captains of the vessels involved. In 1768 Abraham VanBibber of Baltimore was both captain and co-owner of a vessel going to Barbados. And George Woolsey, who began as a ship's captain in 1768, co-owned a vessel with Hercules Courtenay by 1772.

Because a merchant owned or partly owned a ship did not mean that he also owned the cargo, for it was common practice among shipowners to take on cargo belonging to others who did not themselves hold shares in the vessel. The frequency of this practice was indicated by the number of ship departure notices which advertised for freights, or available cargo space. Shipowners sometimes sought only small cargoes, while at other times they desired cargoes to fill the bulk or even all of the hold. More than once Ashburner and Place advertised whole ships for charter to any part of Europe; one such ship was said to hold 460 hogsheads of tobacco, or 14,000 bushels of grain.[7]

The Annapolis Port Books show that William Lux and Samuel and Robert Purviance were Baltimore shipowners engaged in a considerable amount of trading before independence. Close examination of their activities provides insight into the general business practices of Baltimore shippers before 1776. Between 1764 and 1775, for example, Lux was listed as sole or part owner of ten different vessels. These included five schooners, three brigs, and two sloops. Within the same time period the Purviances were listed, either jointly or separately, as owners of five different vessels: two brigs, one sloop, one snow, and one ship.

From March 1765 until July 1767, Lux's sloop *Baltimore Town* cleared Annapolis five times, once each for Virginia, Boston, Barbados, Newfoundland, and North Carolina. Over a five-year period, the Purviances' *Susannah* cleared

6. The records of Baltimore-owned ships are mixed with others for this period because Baltimore as yet had no customs office, and Baltimore ships were required to enter and clear at Annapolis. In using these records to describe Baltimore commercial development, then, it was necessary to identify which ships were Baltimore-owned. Identification was complicated because the records do not indicate where owners resided. Thus the names of Baltimoreans in population lists, newspaper shipping announcements, and other sources had to be matched with those in the Annapolis records to make identification complete. Inevitably some shipowners may have escaped detection, but the highest degree of accuracy was strived for in utilizing these valuable records.

7. *Maryland Gazette*, July 26, 1764; *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, June 21 and July 26, 1775.

six times, once each for North Carolina, Leghorn, Cadiz, and Dublin and twice for Cork.

Newspaper advertisements and other records pertaining to merchant activity indicate that Baltimoreans engaged in secondary pursuits to supplement their more regular activities. One such pursuit was the sale of black slaves and indentured servants. In one advertisement Lux and Bowly publicized rum, sugar, and other goods for sale and in addition "a few fine Negroes, chiefly men." A May 1772 advertisement placed by Samuel and Robert Purviance announced the sale at Baltimore of slaves "just arrived from Africa," and John Ashburner advertised he was selling goods imported from Liverpool and a few African slaves.[8]

Baltimore merchants also sold the contracts of indentured servants and artisans, most of whom were brought in from Ireland. Some merchants even began to encourage the importation of servants out of a desire for insuring a profitable voyage. Writing to James Forde, the Baltimore firm of Woolsey and Salmon stated that "the Months of April & May are the Best Months for such Sales we have within this month sold 100. that have averaged £14 round & . . . we are sure that within these two years there has been 6000 servants sold in the Town from England & Ireland."[9]

William Lux branched out into ropemaking, ship chandlery, and flour milling. Most notable of Lux's added enterprises was the ropewalk he established at his Baltimore County estate, Chatsworth. By 1766 Lux decided to rig out vessels. Anticipating the success he would have, Lux set a goal for himself of manufacturing between twenty and twenty-five tons of cordage annually. His investments in rope helped secure him remittances for dealings with his London correspondent, James Russell.[10]

In this period when grain traffic through Baltimore was so significant a part of the town's economy, Lux's involvement in the rapidly growing flour-milling industry was a wise move. Flour exports comprised a large part of his shipments to areas like the West Indies, and they served as an additional means to pay debts. Sometimes Lux even used flour to pay creditors directly because of the scarcity of cash. For a man with such broad commercial interests as William Lux, becoming engaged in flour milling was simply one more way to insure his overall success.[11]

Though more evidence of his economic activities survives, William Lux was hardly the only Baltimorean who profited from involvement in several kinds of business ventures. Samuel and Robert Purviance and James Sterett all started out in Baltimore in the brewing business and continued those concerns after embarking upon shipping. Shipowner John Ridgely and his brother Charles owned iron furnaces, a connection which proved enormously beneficial to them as exporters of the finished product.

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8. *Maryland Journal*, September 9, 1773; *Maryland Gazette*, July 2, 1767, and March 31, 1768.
9. Woolsey and Salmon to James Forde, December 1774, Woolsey and Salmon Letterbook, Library of Congress.
10. William Lux to William Molleson, November 3, 1766; Lux to James Russell, November 2, 1766, William Lux Letterbook, New-York Historical Society.
11. Lux to William Sanders, November 11, 1765; Lux to Clarke and Hunter, December 6, 1764; and Lux to William Molleson, September 15, 1766, *ibid.*

Among most members of Baltimore's merchant community, ownership of real property, both improved and unimproved, was viewed with very high regard and was a practice closely related to concerns in dry goods, shipping, and other pursuits. Within Baltimore Town itself, individual merchants often owned a number of lots and occasionally other property in the form of a warehouse or wharf. The will of merchant John Sterett, made in 1786, indicated the number and variety of property holdings a single merchant might amass. Property left his children included two water lots on Fells Point and several lots in Baltimore Town. In addition Sterett's will provided for the public sale of lands in Baltimore Town, Fells Point, and Anne Arundel County. At the time of his death, Sterett himself was living not in Baltimore Town but on his country estate at Elk Ridge. Andrew Buchanan at his death left several lots and a house in Baltimore, a store, and the plantation where he lived. It was not unusual for Baltimoreans to combine holdings in the town proper with lots in the Fells Point district of town, the center of much of Baltimore's shipping.[12] Examples were also found of merchants who had moved to Baltimore but had retained some property in the area from which they had come. When Samuel Smith the elder died in 1784, he left his grandson Samuel a 3000-acre estate in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, and John Ashburner willed his estate in Lancaster County, England, to his son.[13]

Capital and credit were crucial to the conduct of business in Baltimore as elsewhere. To start out in trade and to continue to operate successfully, a merchant needed both. Some of Baltimore's earliest entrepreneurs entered business without needing to seek out capital funds, as when fathers took their sons into partnership. Sons could also benefit from established channels of credit if necessary, and in some cases inherited wealth was an important source of capital. A number of men who came to Baltimore before independence, especially from Pennsylvania, got started by bringing an already established business with them. John Smith not only was able to rely on proven business ties from previous trade with Baltimore, but also, according to his son Samuel, brought "$40,000 in cash" with him. Merchants coming to Baltimore as agents of British, Scotch, or Philadelphia concerns found both capital and credit more easily obtainable because of their connections.

As the widespread presence of debts indicated, merchants wherever possible operated on credit whether or not they profited from family partnerships or inheritances. Going into debt was viewed as normal though it might mean ruin if overextended. A businessman's most important consideration was simply being able to obtain credit, and a good deal of time and effort was expended in attempts to keep up his "credit rating."

A constant complaint voiced in Baltimore after the end of the Seven Years' War was the shortage of cash. In one letter William Lux pointed out to his business associates that British policy was in no small way responsible for a

12. Will of John Sterett, fol. 194–199; and Will of Andrew Buchanan, 1786, fol. 120–125, Liber 4, Baltimore County Will Books, MHR; Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 57.
13. Will of Samuel Smith, fol. 568–569; and Will of John Ashburner, fol. 488–490, Liber 3, Baltimore County Will Books.

situation in which trade was "so dull and Cash so exceeding scarce that there is no doing any Business."[14] With cash in such short supply, merchants, shopkeepers, and country storekeepers found themselves forced to rely on credit and other alternatives to cash for clearing their debts and carrying on everyday business.

For credit Baltimoreans turned naturally to their correspondents in London and Philadelphia, who clearly were willing to grant extensive credit when their contacts appeared trustworthy. Though balances were usually supposed to be settled on a yearly basis, nearly all available records show that debts were frequently amassed for a much longer period. The inability of a merchant satisfactorily to clear his account on time resulted from a complex series of factors, foremost of which was the existence of a virtual chain of indebtedness. William Lux attributed his problems to the failure of his customers to do enough trade of their own to keep up their business with him. Lux's customers could not compensate for low crop harvests by selling land or Negroes because potential buyers were themselves too deeply indebted and could not afford to make such purchases. "I have a Sufficiency due to me to pay all I owe," Lux wrote to James Russell in London, "and as soon as the People are able to pay me I will pay you."[15]

Because of the existing situation, Baltimore businessmen had to depend upon their record to get creditors to carry over debts for a period of time longer than the ideal. A merchant the stature of William Lux constantly stressed his intention to pay up as soon as possible. A slight improvement in crop production in one year promptly elicited the comment that "we shall get into a Better way & be enable [*sic*] to Pay off some of the old score."[16] But a debtor's best intentions and his creditor's momentary approval were not always enough to keep business operating smoothly. At times of crisis, when London creditors needed ready cash to settle their own debt obligations, reverberations occurred all along the chain of business indebtedness. All the Baltimore entrepreneur could do in such situations was attempt to call in his own debts, remind his creditors of the success of their past relationship, and brace himself for possible losses. That business between the colonies and the mother country survived two credit crises of major proportions between 1763 and 1776 and each time fell back into old practices only pointed out the utter dependence of businessmen on the system of credit.

Regardless of position, the Baltimore merchant was sure to be both a debtor and creditor. At home he became the creditor of businessmen who themselves lacked direct contact with outside sources of credit. The wills and inventories of several Baltimoreans during the revolutionary period provide telling evidence of the situation. Most men died with varying amounts of money owed them by several parties. An inventory of the estate of merchant William Neill revealed the range in size of debts owed to a single individual. Of collectible debts owed Neill totaling £1,334.17.4½, four individual debts fell between 200 and 297 pounds each, while two were only around £10. Jonathan Hudson, another merchant, died

14. Lux to Molleson, November 17, 1764, Lux Letterbook.
15. Lux to James Russell, July 20, 1764, *ibid.*
16. Lux to Russell and Molleson, September 17, 1764; Lux to James Russell, July 20, 1765; *ibid.* Richard Sheridan, "The British Credit Crisis of 1772 and the American Colonies," *Journal of Economic History*, 20 (June 1960): 161–186.

with just over £250 currency in debts and nearly £63,000 currency in "desperate" debts, including one debt of Robert Morris, the Philadelphian, for about £5,000 currency. At the same time Hudson was listed in another man's inventory as owing more than £200 currency. Claims made against the estate of Samuel and Robert Purviance revealed that in 1775 they owed a single firm a little more than £1,100.[17]

Many debts were built up during the regular course of buying and selling goods, but a significant number resulted from direct cash loans in the form of bonds. Throughout the business records of Baltimoreans like Mark Alexander and Charles Ridgely, Jr., constant evidence is found of money loaned in this manner. Bonds ranged in size from very small up to anywhere from £250 to £300, but small bonds were the most common. As was the case with other types of creditors, men who loaned out money on bond often were bondholders themselves. Mark Alexander, who had loaned small amounts to several individuals, owed William Taylor £250; and, in October 1772, Charles Ridgely paid £50 on the amount of a bond he held from the late Nicholas Ruxton Gay.[18] For the businessman who lent money under a bond agreement, interest payments provided a regular income. Also, there is some evidence that bonds, once contracted, later served as a form of currency in paying debts.

Not surprisingly, cash was seldom used in making payments. For if businessmen and traders had little cash for direct trade, they stood small chance of having it when the time came to settle their accounts. A very common method of clearing one's account for dry goods imported from London merchants, then, was to send a remittance or return cargo on consignment to the merchant involved. He would sell the consigned articles and apply the proceeds, less a commission and insurance, to the credit of the Baltimorean concerned. Charles Ridgely was one of several Baltimoreans who did this by sending pig and bar iron to London. Another popular London consignment was tobacco.

Dealing on consignment, British and American merchants were attempting to obtain speedier repayment at better advantage than they could have hoped for otherwise. The consignment procedure worked in reverse as merchants in Baltimore sold goods for British firms. The accounts of Charles Ridgely are laden with invoices for goods shipped and consigned to him, usually by the London firms of Russell and Molleson and Mildred and Roberts. Goods sent to Ridgely generally included items such as gunpowder, rugs, ironware, and linen, and as one invoice for £1,697 demonstrates, the consignments were sometimes quite valuable.[19]

In making payments to merchants outside their town, Baltimoreans also used bills of exchange, with bills most often drawn on firms and individuals in London and Philadelphia. A crucial factor was the acceptability of the bill to the party receiving it and the willingness of the person on whom the bill was drawn to honor

17. Inventory of William Neill, July 12, 1786, Liber 14; Inventory of Jonathan Hudson, August 1787, Liber 15; and Inventory of Archibald Buchanan, July 24, 1786, Liber 14, Baltimore County Inventories; Chancery Records, Liber 59, fol. 273, MHR.
18. Bond of Charles Ridgely to Nicholas Ruxton Gay, Ridgely Papers (MS. 692.1), Box 10, MHS.
19. Invoice of Goods, Russell and Molleson to Charles Ridgely, March 24, 1764, and April 1, 1765, *ibid.*, Box 4 and 6.

it. One letter written from London to the firm of Lux and Bowly by Joshua Johnson, of the Annapolis firm of Wallace, Davidson and Johnson, illustrates the point. Johnson stated: "I am sorry to say that your fears about the Validity of Bills are two true, there is scarcely any of them Accepted as usual & many of them are returned so that all Punctuality is at an end."[20] The effect of protested bills on business was damaging enough to prompt Johnson to go on to offer personal advice to his friends in Baltimore. "Was I in your Situations," Johnson said, "I would Raise Indian Corn and Eate Homina & Curse the Com. Business."

That protested bills continued as a hazard of trade is evidenced by later communications between these individuals. Once Johnson returned just over £170 in protested bills and, as was always the case, charged Lux and Bowly a fee for his services—amounting that time to a little more than £4.[21] Despite such difficulties, transactions between Johnson and Lux and Bowly continued.

Bills of exchange also circulated in Baltimore as a type of currency in transactions between individuals who did business with merchants in London and Philadelphia, where the bills most often originated. In some instances traders could receive cash directly for a bill of exchange. Charles Ridgely, Jr., often paid out cash for bills drawn on his principal London correspondents, Russell and Molleson. Typically, such bills ranged in size from very small amounts to a high of about £34.[22] This procedure was beneficial to all concerned, especially to the individual who received immediate cash for a bill which otherwise might have been nearly worthless. Baltimore merchants also sold bills of exchange to businessmen having debts but no correspondents in the mother country.

The generally better rate of exchange in Philadelphia sometimes cramped activities in Baltimore. Thus, William Lux counted it a distinct advantage that he was one of two Baltimoreans who he felt could negotiate large sums in bills at Philadelphia without losing over 5 percent in the exchange. To businessmen without a stake in the trade with Britain, bills were of little appeal as a currency substitute. Addressing this point in a letter to a London merchant, Lux said: "you surely must know that we cannot buy either Wheat or Flour for Bills, for the Millers want cash to Pay the Farmers and the Farmers having no connections with London will not be concerned with Bills."[23]

In direct dealings and in clearing accounts with each other, merchants and shopkeepers in Baltimore employed a variety of mediums in addition to the bill of exchange. For example, Mark Alexander paid off an account for £82.3.7 with flour, staves, two cash payments—one of £10.5 and the other of £15—and the loan of a vessel for a period of more than two weeks.[24]

As part of their business activity, colonial merchants performed a number of essential services for their trading contacts at home and abroad. In addition to their roles as consignment agents, purchasers of return cargoes, and sources of

20. Joshua Johnson to Lux and Bowly, January 6, 1773, Wallace, Davidson and Johnson Letterbook.
21. *Ibid.*, September 7 and December 31, 1776.
22. Journal for April 1764, p. 25, Account Books, Ridgely Papers.
23. Lux to William Molleson, November 9, 1766, Lux Letterbook.
24. Mark Alexander Account with Samuel and Robert Purviance, 1772–1775, Corner Collection (MS. 1242), MHS.

credit, merchants were also suppliers of important information on the general state of markets and the prices of various commodities. But keeping one's correspondents informed was no easy task. A letter of one Baltimore firm to a business associate stated: "you desire us to engage at a certain price for Wheat. 'tis not in our power to do it. for So many difft. changes happen in our Market that 'tis impossible to foresee Even for two weeks."[25]

Numerous small details of marketing were handled by Baltimore merchants and, though it was not always acknowledged, this contributed significantly to the success of relationships between merchants and their clientele. "I am greatly Obliged for all favours received at Norfolk," William Lux wrote John Riddle, "and shall at all times be glad to have it in my Power to render you any services here."[26] Seeking the best price and best market for goods sent back to Britain was a continual preoccupation of Baltimore entrepreneurs. When ideal conditions did not prevail, they offered an explanation and profuse apologies. John Smith and Sons wrote to one correspondent: "There are not any Ships to be had or Should ship you an immediate Cargo altho, at present low prices cause the Farmers to keep back their produce which we fear will be a means of raising the Price."[27]

Sometimes the information or service provided was of a more personal nature. Charles Ridgely sent Russell and Molleson "a list of the People on Elk Ridge whom I think safe men," and William Lux, after examining fellow merchant Jonathan Plowman's credentials, reported to Russell and Molleson that Plowman had at least £2,000 stock "and is a very Industrious man."[28] London merchants reciprocated by performing similar functions.

Shipping was a mainstay of the Baltimore economy with commerce before independence concentrated in four major areas—the British Isles, Southern Europe, the West Indies, and the North American coastal towns. The relative importance of goods imported from London, and increasingly from British outports like Liverpool and Bristol, is strongly indicated by the abundance of advertisements for European and East India goods in the Annapolis and Baltimore papers during the period. Newspaper announcements often detailed a very extensive stock of dry goods and revealed that cloth goods, ranging from coarse cotton Osnaburgs to fine silks, were most popular. British manufactured hardware, like wire and pans and anchors, chiefly of wrought iron, were also stocked.[29] Often backcountry grain-growers coming to market intended to exchange their grain for English imports and these goods were an important part of the inventories which Baltimore wholesalers sold to backcountry shopkeepers.

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25. Smith and Company to Richard Guille and Company, April 6, 1775, Smith Letterbooks, (MS. 1152), MHS.
26. Lux to John Riddle, June 12, 1765, Lux Letterbook.
27. Smith and Company to Joseph Jones & Son, March 24, 1775, Smith Letterbooks; see also William Lux to Darby Lux, May 23, 1764, and Lux to Gerhard Hagen and Company, January 26, 1767, Lux Letterbook; and Woolsey and Salmon to George Salmon, December 8, 1775, Woolsey and Salmon Letterbook.
28. Charles Ridgely to Russell and Molleson, September 13, 1763, Ridgely Papers, Box 3; William Lux to Russell and Molleson, February 27, 1764, Lux Letterbook.
29. *Maryland Gazette*, August 11, 1763, and March 31, 1768. For comparison with Philadelphia, see Arthur L. Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia* (Madison, 1963), p. 89.

Robert and James Christie, Jr., of Baltimore, owned more ships bringing in goods from London than any of their fellow townsmen. Of the seventeen dry goods imports from London (1763–75), they owned nine either jointly or separately. Ownership of outport entries was divided among several individuals, so that no one could be said to have dominated that trade, though the Christies were again involved. In the case of the Bristol imports, James Cheston of Baltimore shared ownership with William Randolph and William Stevenson of Bristol.

Goods imported to Baltimore from the mother country, or from other areas, cannot be fully measured by examining cargo records of Baltimore-owned ships. Much of the trade coming through Annapolis from Britain in ships owned by non-Baltimoreans eventually found its way into the hands of Baltimore merchants or was in fact owned by them at the outset. Unfortunately, precise statements cannot be made about this kind of trade because cargo ownership was not recorded in the Annapolis port records and because few pertinent ship manifests are available.

The publicized investigation of the cargo of the *Good Intent*, an Annapolis-owned vessel which arrived at the capital during non-importation in 1770, shed some light on the murky question of cargo ownership. On board the *Good Intent*, according to the investigating committee, were goods not only consigned to Annapolis but to four different individuals in Baltimore.[30] In this instance, many of the goods had been ordered by Baltimoreans from John Buchanan, a London merchant. The inevitable conclusion is that since Buchanan owned or co-owned many other ships entered at Annapolis with European and East India goods, his ships very likely contained much that was on order from Baltimore. A comparison of the total Baltimore-owned entries from Britain which contained dry goods with the number of the same type of entry not owned in Baltimore indicates how often the pattern of cargo ownership on the *Good Intent* might have been repeated. In the single year 1773, for example, eighteen vessels entered at Annapolis with dry goods from Britain, and ten of those were owned outside Baltimore.

If the British import trade is to be compared with such trade elsewhere, emphasis must be placed on the tonnage of the ships involved. This may be readily accomplished by consulting Table 1. In 1773, a boom year for Baltimore-owned ships, sixty-one entries representing 3,709 tons were recorded. Though only nine of the entries in 1773 were from Britain—London, Liverpool, and Bristol—their tonnage represented 1,230 tons or 33.16 percent of the total tonnage for that year. Fifteen Baltimore-owned ships entered Annapolis that same year from the West Indies, carrying only 488 tons. Baltimoreans definitely employed their largest ships in the British trade and the tonnage of goods involved in the trade bore a disproportionate relationship to the actual number of vessels. Additional Baltimore imports from the British Isles before independence were represented by thirty-eight Baltimore-owned entries from Scotland and Ireland.

30. Proceedings of the Committee Examining Imports on the *Good Intent*, Fisher Transcripts, Vol. IX, MHS.

TABLE 1

BALTIMORE-OWNED VESSELS ENTERED AT ANNAPOLIS, JAN. 1763-SEPT. 1775

Year	British Isles		Southern Europe		West Indies		N. American Coast		Other		Total	
	E	T	E	T	E	T	E	T	E	T	E	T
1763	2	310	x	x	3	205	x	x	1	250	6	765
1764	2	310	x	x	7	612	2	210	1	150	12	1282
1765	4	335	x	x	6	665	2	72	1	130	13	1202
1766	4	510	1	60	4	257	2	66	2	180	13	1073
1767	4	515	1	86	3	236	1	36	x	x	9	873
1768	6	730	4	382	6	630	3	228	x	x	19	1970
1769	7	600	2	230	8	658	7	370	2	340	26	2198
1770	5	420	10	1090	11	868	6	400	x	x	32	2778
1771	11	1295	1	80	9	636	10	451	1	130	32	2592
1772	14	1555	3	235	6	385	20	805	x	x	43	2980
1773	14	1735	3	325	15	488	29	1161	x	x	61	3709
1774	11	1155	6	695	10	500	18	950	3	320	48	3620
1775	10	1145	2	210	21	1310	10	455	2	320	45	3440
TOTAL	94	10,615	33	3393	109	7450	110	5204	13	1820	359	28,482

Note: E = Number of Entries; T = Tonnage of Entries

Exports to Britain in Baltimore-owned vessels during the period 1763–76 were usually comprised of tobacco and iron with large amounts of staves, planks, and timber. In 1773, and afterwards, wheat and flour were sometimes added to the above exports, when shortages in Britain made popular what were otherwise uncalled for colonial products. Four Baltimore ships, totaling 335 tons, carried wheat, flour, and bread to Falmouth in 1775, and four ships of 665 tons carried wheat, flour, and tobacco to London. On June 29, 1775, Jonathan Hudson's ship *Active* (200 tons) cleared for London with 11,000 bushels of wheat and 1,201 barrels of flour. Again, the Christies, who owned fourteen of a total forty-five vessels, were foremost among Baltimore shippers exporting to Britain. Jonathan Plowman, Richard Adair, Benjamin Rogers, and James Clarke were among those sending ships to Liverpool; Jonathan Cornthwaite, William Smith, George Woolsey, and Richard Button to Falmouth; and Lemuel Cravath, Cumberland Dugan, John and William Smith, and James Cheston to Bristol. Merchants like John Ashburner and Thomas Place, who sent their ships to Liverpool, shared ownership with James Gildart, a merchant of that city. Again, considerable export trade with Britain was done by non-shipowners. (See Table 2.)

A second major geographical area with which Baltimore merchants traded in the period before independence was Southern Europe. Vessels owned in Baltimore traveled to and from Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, and the Portuguese island of Madeira. Most of the vessels carried grain, either corn or wheat, flour, and bread to the ports of Southern Europe; and, except for ships returning from Madeira with wine, they entered in ballast in compliance with British trade regulations. With nine clearances between 1763 and 1775, William Lux and Daniel Bowly led the group of Baltimoreans exporting to Southern Europe.

The Southern European market grew in importance to Baltimoreans because it

TABLE 2

BALTIMORE-OWNED VESSELS CLEARED
AT ANNAPOLIS, JAN. 1763-SEPT. 1775

Year	British Isles		Southern Europe		West Indies		N. American Coast		Other		Total	
	C	T	C	T	C	T	C	T	C	T	C	T
1763	2	380	x	x	6	340	1	15	1	85	10	820
1764	3	500	3	206	6	616	1	80	x	x	13	1402
1765	4	355	2	190	8	637	3	108	x	x	17	1290
1766	2	330	1	86	3	280	1	36	x	x	7	732
1767	4	465	4	396	6	546	3	196	x	x	17	1603
1768	6	730	10	1037	5	330	2	98	1	50	24	2265
1769	7	790	9	880	9	663	6	380	x	x	31	2713
1770	13	1565	9	881	11	763	6	265	x	x	39	3474
1771	18	1875	4	230	7	441	11	489	x	x	40	3035
1772	8	780	13	1220	10	595	22	1095	x	x	53	3690
1773	13	1435	7	925	15	601	34	1484	x	x	69	4445
1774	11	1450	19	2165	14	750	16	740	x	x	60	5105
1775	12	1415	2	175	16	790	5	190	1	180	36	2750
TOTAL	103	12,070	83	8391	116	7372	111	5176	3	315	416	33,324

Note: C = Number of Clearances; T = Tonnage of Clearances

was a major outlet for the grain which after 1763 continued to pour into Baltimore from the Eastern Shore, the backcountry, and the immediate vicinity of the town. Furthermore, Baltimore entrepreneurs were happy to respond to the sometimes pressing shortages of grain in countries such as Spain. In fact, at one point the brisk grain trade with ports like Lisbon and Cadiz may have saved many a Baltimore businessman. "Nothing kept us from sinking," wrote William Lux in 1766, "but the demands for Grain, for in the present suspension of all other Business occasioned by Stamp Act, we were threatened with a general Bankruptcy."[31] Trade with Southern Europe had another advantage in that it was heavily unbalanced in a favor of exports. As a result, merchants in Baltimore, like their confederates in Philadelphia, could count on profits in Europe to offset their heavy debts to British merchants.

The West Indies was a third major trading area for Baltimore merchants before 1776. It was there that much of the demand for Maryland grain had originated and as the conversion to grain production expanded, so too did trade with the West Indies. Philadelphia concerns—in particular, Willing and Morris—also began to invest in Maryland grain and had their contacts in Baltimore, like Mark Alexander, send flour for them directly to the West Indies.[32]

Much of the grain was exported in the form of flour, bread, and biscuit. In addition, cargoes often included large amounts of lumber products such as staves, heading, and scantling, and small amounts of iron. Cargoes imported to Baltimore from the West Indies almost always included rum and sugar as well as molasses, occasional quantities of cotton, and coffee.

Though Baltimore's commercial traffic with the West Indies was not

31. Lux to William Molleson, April 4, 1766, Lux Letterbook.
32. Lathim and Jackson to Mark Alexander, October 12, 1765, Corner Collection.

unbalanced to any great degree, Baltimoreans looked to the West Indies as another source for remittances to London. Some townsmen kept contacts closely allied with them in the West Indies in order to manage trade to the most profitable extent. William Lux had the advantage of having his brother, Darby, stationed in Barbados after 1760. Not only could Darby handle his West India trade, William felt, but he could perhaps also lay hold of much of the remaining Maryland trade with the West Indies.[33] For information on the state of markets and the demand for cordage, William Lux also relied on one of his former ship's captains, William Sanders, who had gone to St. John's, Antigua, in March 1763.[34] Writing his brother's partner, William Lux asked for cargoes of rum and sugar and added: "I hope you'l take a Range all over the West Indies rather than let us Suffer."[35]

The West Indies trade was nearly balanced and ships used in the trade tended to be smaller than those sent to Britain. For example, contrast the 1,310 tons carried by twenty-one vessels in 1775 with the 1,570 tons carried to Britain by only twelve vessels in the same year. On the eve of independence, the West Indies trade showed promise of continuing as an integral part of Baltimore's commercial life. George Woolsey of Baltimore wrote his partner in Dublin that he had profited considerably, having put £50 into a voyage to the West Indies and cleared £75. Greatly encouraged at the prospect, Woolsey urged his partner to quit Dublin and get a consignment from Ireland to the West Indies.[36]

Coastal trade with Philadelphia, Boston, Newport, New York, and points in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Newfoundland also flourished in this period. This trade enabled merchants in Baltimore to get merchandise more readily and more cheaply than they could from other sources, to offer their goods at additional and often more profitable markets, and to dispose of debts and build up credit. Between 1763 and 1775, entries owned in Baltimore numbered more than 100 as did clearances. Total tonnage exceeded 5,000 in each case. Boston was the most popular base for coastal trading with fifty clearances and fifty-four entries. Melchior Keener, who did much business there, had John Sweetser, Jr., as his agent.[37] Virginia ports, not identified by name in the Annapolis records, accounted for twenty-nine clearances and twenty-two entries. By and large, vessels engaged in this trade carried less than sixty tons. For example, the average tonnage entered in 1771 was forty-five tons and that cleared was forty-four tons.

Flour, bread, and iron were popular exports. Imports included large quantities of rum and sugar and specialized products like oil, leather, and whalebone from Massachusetts, and pitch, tar, and turpentine from North Carolina and Virginia. Baltimoreans Mark Alexander, Melchior Keener, William Spear, and William Lux owned the majority of boats clearing from Annapolis for American seaports. Often the goods sent were on consignment, but Baltimore shippers were not

33. Lux to Captain John Bradford, July 15, 1767; to Darby Lux, May 23, 1764, Lux Letterbook.
34. Lux to William Sanders, September 11, 1765, *ibid.*
35. Lux to William Potts, September 3, 1764, *ibid.*
36. George Woolsey to George Salmon, June 18, 1776, Woolsey and Salmon Letterbook.
37. John Sweetser to Melchior Keener, May 18, 1774. Revolutionary War Collection. (MS. 1814), MHS.

always assured of great success in the coastal trade. A Newport (R.I.) correspondent of Mark Alexander wrote in 1775 that he would like to receive a cargo of flour, bread, and iron, but "we Cannot as our Marketts are Constantly Glutted with those articles. we have a Great Number of Coasting Vessels who are constant in the New York & Philadelphia trade who supply this place with those articles at prime cost."[38] Levi Hollingsworth, who did business in Philadelphia on consignment for Alexander, reported in 1774 that the sale of Alexander's goods had yielded only enough to pay his commission.[39]

Merchants in other American cities frequently shipped goods on consignment to Baltimore. Cargo lists from Boston for 1773–74 show a number of such shipments to Mark Alexander who charged 3.75 percent commission for handling them. Philadelphian Levi Hollingsworth, besides handling consignments from Baltimore, on occasion sent his own goods to Baltimore.[40]

The myriad activities of Baltimore's merchants, the methods of conducting business, and the growing number of Baltimore-owned vessels involved in a far-flung trade were signs of a thriving metropolis and a maturing economy on the eve of American independence. The town's artisan community was likewise expanding. So extensive was manufacturing that one merchant worried there would be no more grain shipped as "the People are turning to Industry."[41] Other signs pointed toward probable greatness in Baltimore's future: the town had become the county seat of Baltimore County in 1768 and absorbed economically strategic Fells Point in 1773. By 1776 the emerging city's population reached 6,751.

Though Baltimore's dependence upon an economically more mature Philadelphia continued, Baltimoreans were showing signs of greater autonomy. Beyond doubt, the economic foundations laid down in Baltimore between 1763 and 1776 were vital to the even greater expansion seen during the Revolutionary war. The town's dramatic advances resulted from a fortunate combination of geography, circumstance, and a strong enterprising spirit.

38. Yeates, Mahoone to Mark Alexander, April 17, 1775, Corner Collection.
39. Levi Hollingsworth to Mark Alexander, April 17, 1774, *ibid.*
40. Cargo Lists, Alexander Account Books, (MS. 11), MHS; Benjamin Griffith and Brother to Levy Hollingsworth, March 28, 1772; and Mark Alexander to Levi Hollingsworth, November 13, 1774, Hollingsworth Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
41. Smith and Company to Joseph Jones and Son, September 22, 1775, Smith Letterbooks.

A Conversation Between Two Rivers: A Debate on the Location of the U.S. Capital in Maryland.

LEE W. FORMWALT

ONE OF THE MANY PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED BY THE NEW FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AFTER the Constitution had been ratified in 1788 was the decision on where to locate the permanent seat of government. No state was more concerned with this issue than Maryland. Because of its roughly central geographic position and because it could offer the bustling port of Baltimore, the Free State seemed to be one of the most favored candidates for the honor of hosting the United States Capital. Maryland, however, was not of one mind on where the new capital should reside within its borders. The issue divided the state along sectional lines with Baltimore and the Chesapeake area in favor of a Baltimore site and Southern Maryland planters preferring a location on the Potomac River. So important were the divisions created by this issue that they ultimately affected the 1790 elections, months after the capital site had been chosen.

A number of scholars have recently explored the complex political scene in Maryland in the decade following the adoption of the Constitution,[1] in which the capital debate played an early and important role. None of these historians have cited what is perhaps the most interesting and unusual Baltimore newspaper article revealing the two major positions on the location of the capital in Maryland. On March 24, 1789, the *Maryland Journal and the Baltimore Advertiser* printed an article entitled, "A CONFERENCE between the PATAPSCO and PATOWMACK Rivers, in MARYLAND," at a time when Baltimoreans were discussing and laying plans to attract the new capital to their city.

The question of where the permanent site for the capital should be located was first raised in the Confederation Congress by Elbridge Gerry in 1783. Over the next seven years, other congressmen proposed various sites on the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Potomac rivers.[2] It was not until the new Constitution had

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1. Dorothy Marie Brown, "Party Battles and Beginnings in Maryland: 1786–1812," (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1961); L. Marx Renzulli, Jr., *Maryland, The Federalist Years* (Rutherford, N.J., 1972); Lee Lovely Verstandig, "The Emergence of the Two-Party System in Maryland, 1787–1796," (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1970); William B. Wheeler, "Urban Politics in Nature's Republic: The Development of Political Parties in the Seaport Cities in the Federalist Era," (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1967).

2. Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (Hatboro, Pa., 1965, original

been ratified, however, that serious action was taken to settle upon a permanent location. Before the First Congress even convened in New York City, southern congressmen expressed displeasure with the northern metropolis as the seat of government. Many Marylanders, especially Baltimore merchants with visions of increased trade, were aware of the advantages of having the capital situated in Baltimore. Newspaper articles appeared in Baltimore expounding upon the town's advantages as a capital city.[3] As early as February 1789, merchants and other Baltimoreans began subscribing to a loan which would be used to construct government buildings should the capital be moved to the city. Maryland congressmen were to use the loan as a means of persuading Congress of Baltimore's advantages as a capital. The *Maryland Journal* announced that by February 24, twenty thousand pounds had already been subscribed.[4]

While Baltimore citizens feverishly campaigned to raise money and attract Congress' attention, other Marylanders expressed their disapproval. The Eastern Shore and Potomac planters felt Baltimore already had too much influence in the state. Many members of older Maryland families would rather have seen the capital in New York or Charleston than in Baltimore. But a situation on the Potomac, they agreed, would be the ideal spot for the capital. In such a location, the seat of government would benefit the Potomac area in Maryland and enhance the position of the "proper" families. The Potomac and Eastern Shore area was in bad economic straits. Economic stagnation and decay had set in, and in some areas there was even a population decrease. The planters hoped that with the capital on the Potomac, these conditions would change. For this very reason, the Baltimore and Chesapeake merchants feared the Potomac capital. They felt that such a capital (or a capital in Philadelphia) would take away some of the bustling trade which made Baltimore the rapidly growing town it was.[5] As the tensions increased between Chesapeake merchants and Potomac planters, the contenders expanded and refined their arguments concerning the capital's location. These arguments emerged in full maturity in the "Conference between the Patapsco and Patowmack Rivers" article reprinted here.

The anonymously written dialogue between the Patapsco and Potomac rivers commences with a general agreement on the benefits to be obtained from the recently ratified Constitution. After a litany of praises for recently elected President George Washington, the rivers enter into a discussion over which body of water was better suited for the new capital—the Patapsco (Baltimore) or the Potomac. While the article's purpose was a detailed exposition of the arguments for a Potomac site (nearly three-quarters of the dialogue is "Patowmack"'s), Baltimore's position is clearly expressed in "Patapsco"'s succinct and often sharp replies to "Patowmack". Both parties debate the advantages of an inland town versus a seaport: which had greater accessibility to commerce and which was more exposed to enemy attack. One of the most unusual aspects of their

ed., 1929), p. 401; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, 3 vols. (Hatboro, Pa., 1967; original ed., 1879), 2: 563–64.

3. *Maryland Journal and the Baltimore Advertiser*, August 12, 1788, February 6, February 13, 1789.

4. *Ibid.*, February 10, February 24, 1789.

5. Wheeler, "Urban Politics," pp. 152, 155.

argument is their attempt to draw a lesson from Russian history and Peter the Great's creation of the city of St. Petersburg, an event with which most eighteenth-century Americans were not familiar, or at least did not discuss at any length. The most significant part of the argument revolves around the advantages and disadvantages of a planned city over a city which was already in existence and plagued with the urban problems most eighteenth-century cities experienced.

For the Maryland Journal, &c.

A CONFERENCE between the PATAPSCO and PATOWMACK Rivers, in MARYLAND.

Patapsco.—SUFFER me, my very good friend Patowmack, with inconceivable joy, sincerely to congratulate you, and all other American rivers, on the important and happy event, now produced by the peaceable junction of thirteen extensive and variegated States, into one powerful and energetic Empire.—For, since the day on which the New Congress assembled, the numerous rivulets, our sources, have either moved on in silent extacy, or at times, in sportive dance, with natural unsymphonic sounds, expressed their rapture. Since then, the finny myriads have never ceased their playful gambols, with scales and eyes emitting redoubled light. The feathered songsters have vastly harmonized their diversified notes. The beasts of the field, no longer apprehensive of the dreadful slaughter incident to belligerous rapine, are tranquil and easy. The blue breath of faction, that has so long disturbed our peace, is now dissolved into a gentle zephyr. The naval community, at length united into one social bond, either at times, around the circling *Can* [probably a grog cup passed from sailor to sailor] on deck, with jocund laugh, relate the amorous adventure on shore, or recite the dangers of the deep, which, from being past, to them are now pleasant. The polite, hospitable and well-bred Gentlemen of Baltimore, have since drowned all political animosity in convivial harmony;[6] while the highly accomplished, affable, and most charmingly beautiful FAIR, of that growing city, are no longer timid in approaching the Temple of Hymen, from apprehensions of devastations of horrid war; but now glow with unspeakable grace, in the near prospect of enjoying their loves, without interruption, in the most exalted style of conjugal felicity, and inexpressible bliss. In sum, on that auspicious and ever memorable day! the union felt the cure, and from her seat, singing through all her works, gave sign of joy that all was saved!———

Patowmack.—From the rhapsody you have just uttered, your joy appears to be extreme; although, I believe, not more sincere than mine, upon the same occasion.—It certainly must have been a grand and affecting sight, when both Congresses met, to have beheld the old government peaceably resigning its powers to the new, and dissolving its own existence. The unanimity of the States, on this occasion, has been astonishing and unexpected. America will now raise her head in the rank of nations, and be able to command that respect, which wealth, wise, uniform and effectual laws will render her due.

Patapsco.—The benefits arising to the union in general, from this new system, will be great, and sensibly felt. Good post roads, *without gates*, and bridges where necessary, will be great conveniences; and you, in particular, will most materially experience the propriety of uniform commercial regulations.—The jarring impost-laws, for some years past, on your different sides, must have given you vast uneasiness; and your rest must

6. Most Baltimoreans favored the adoption of the Constitution, and their united support helped the Federalists in Maryland secure ratification in the 1788 state convention (Wheeler, "Urban Politics," pp. 152–53).

have been very much disturbed by nauseous smugglers, crawling across your face in the night.[7] But pray, have you heard who is elected President?

Patowmack.—During the life of the immortal Saviour of his Country, who should be President but him?—A Dolphin swimming express from Sandy-Hook, with the glad news to Charleston-Bay, informed a shoal of herrings off Cape Henry, that he had been elected unanimously. Admirable man! The banks of no river were ever adorned with such an inhabitant. Future historians, in attempting to describe his glory and qualities, will sink under the weight of the subject.—Since his last election, I am become so exceedingly vain, that I almost conceit myself no longer common element, but the most refined nectar.—The curiosity of the fishes to view his dwelling is now excessive. The before-mentioned shoal of herrings, with many others, are crowding up to feast their eyes with a sight of MOUNT VERNON: but foolish fishes, their curiosity will be their ruin: how will my banks, and even the best wharves of populous towns, stink with their entrails!—

Patapsco.—I suspected you were becoming excessively vain of late, from your presuming to dispute the permanent residence of Congress with me.

Patowmack.—I consider that circumstance as no indication of vanity, being a matter of propriety and right; but perhaps you are confident, that the loan now raising in Baltimore, for erecting the public buildings, will ensure it to you.[8]

Patapsco.—There you are very much mistaken, for I am really ashamed of that proceeding; and have therefore strictly charged all sailors, fishes and others, passing out of my Capes, to keep it a profound secret; being apprehensive that it may be considered by Congress, as an attempt to bribe them, or purchase their residence. Besides, should it be accepted, it would give the people in Europe a very contemptible opinion of the new government; and might induce them to say, that notwithstanding the power given to Congress, to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to raise and support armies, yet, they could not, by any means, muster as much money as was sufficient to erect their public buildings, till lent them by the citizens of Baltimore, upon condition they should settle among them: Therefore, had Boston, in New-England, or Charleston, South-Carolina, thought it worth while, either of them might easily have procured their residence, by being able to raise a much larger sum.

Patowmack.—It is not my opinion, that the subject of fixing the federal district will be brought on, in Congress, till about this time next year, when the North-Carolina members are likely to be present.[9]—For although, being few in number, they will be able to despatch a great deal in a short time, yet, the multiplicity of business, that must necessarily be settled before any adjournment, I think, will detain them till April or May come a year. But before they rise, it is probable, they will determine on their perpetual residence; in order, that plans of a city, and the various public buildings, may be preparing against their next meeting; which may be on their annual period, and in the next great town to the spot they may choose.[10]

Patapsco.—Many imagine, that an inland situation will be preferred by Congress. But those must certainly have forgot the great necessity of cementing the union by one central emporium of commerce and manufactures; especially, as an inland seat of government

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7. The new Constitution gave the national government control over interstate commerce, eliminating individual state regulations. Thus Virginia's and Maryland's different commercial regulations were abolished and the Potomac lost all of its international boundary attributes.

8. See p. 311.

9. North Carolina ratified the Constitution in November 1789 and its representatives were able to vote on the location of the capital the following spring.

10. Congress decided on Philadelphia as the temporary capital and a site on the Potomac River as the permanent seat of government in May 1790.

would never be any thing better than a village of pomp, pageantry, extravagance and extortion; while a wiser generation would move to a more eligible situation; by which the States would incur the immense expense of another set of public edifaces, as well as the irreparable loss of so much time.

Patowmack.—What system of policy will pervade the new Congress, concerning that subject, is difficult to ascertain: For I readily admit that, in America, are a number of rich *politicians*, who are enemies to commerce and towns; being even ignorant that their own lands become less valuable, in proportion as they are removed from a commercial city. But those are chiefly men who have seen but little of the world, and are wrapped up in contracted prejudices. However, the history of all former ages will readily shew, that it has been the invariable practice of all wise founders of Empires, Kingdoms and States, from Nimrod down to the immortal Penn, to cement and support their dominions by one great Metropolis.[11]

Russia, for many ages, remained in a state of dark barbarity, while her seat of government was removed from a proper situation for commerce; till, at length, PETER THE GREAT, observing the deplorable state of his Empire, descended from his high dignity, and travelling through various countries in search of knowledge, even condescended to work with his own hands, in learning the most laborious mechanical operations; till, fraught with the arts and sciences, navigation, commerce and manufactures, he returned to his Empire, and, with indefatigable industry, founded the city of Petersburgh, upon a situation inviting on no other account than its being eligible for commerce; and removing the seat of government from *Moscow* thither, it rapidly became a great metropolis, whose happy influence pervaded his dominions: hence Russia is now a powerful and flourishing Empire.[12]

Patapsco.—The example of Russia will, no doubt, have great weight with Congress, in fixing their permanent residence, and, I think, will ensure it to Baltimore; owing to its centricity of situation; its excellent accommodations for the members of Congress, with its plentiful variety and moderate price of provisions; its neighbourhood abounding with iron ore, and when the navigation of the Susquehannah shall be opened for boats, it may be supplied from thence with plenty of wood and coal:[13] besides being convenient to foreign correspondence, it is 18 miles removed from where a fleet of any force can penetrate.

Patowmack.—Almost all the arguments you have just now used, apply with double force in favour of me, with many more.—The mill on the great road, about half way between Alexandria and Georgetown, is found, by actual experiment, to be exactly equidistant

11. The biblical Nimrod was probably Tukulti-Ninurta I (thirteenth century B.C.), the first Assyrian conqueror of Babylon and a famous city-builder at home. According to *Genesis* 10: 8–12, his kingdom was Shinar (ancient Sumer in southern Mesopotamia), whose chief cities were Babylon, Erech, and Accad. He went into Asshur (Assyria) "where he built Nineveh, Rehobeth-Ir, and Calah, as well as Resen." Recent biblical scholars have suggested that Rehobeth-Ir (literally "wide-streets city") was probably not the name of another city, but rather an epithet of Nineveh. Calah was the Assyrian Kalhu, capital of Assyria in the ninth century B.C. (*The New American Bible* [New York, 1970], p. 15).

12. Peter the Great (1672–1725) founded St. Petersburg in 1703 in the bleak marshes on the Gulf of Bothnia to replace Moscow as the capital of Russia. The name of the city was changed to Petrograd in World War I and to Leningrad after the Russian Revolution.

13. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820) was commissioned by Pennsylvania Governor Thomas McKean in 1801 to improve the navigation of the Susquehanna River from Wright's Ferry (Columbia) to tidewater. The legislative appropriation limited the improvement to downstream navigation during spring freshets. In 1839 the Susquehanna and Tidewater Canal, running parallel to the river, was opened (Latrobe, "Report on the improvements effected in the Navigation of the river Susquehanna . . .during the year 1801," printed in *Report of the Governor and Directors, to the Proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal, at their Semi-Annual Meeting Held in the City of Baltimore, October 25th, 1802* [Baltimore, 1802]; Caroline E. MacGill et al., *History of Transportation in the United States before 1860* [Washington, D.C., 1917], p. 214).

between the northern and southern extremities of the union. My banks abound with iron ore, coal mines, and most excellent large timber, fit for building war ships, or for any other purpose. Besides, from a late survey, it is found, that I extend within ten miles of the western waters: therefore, it would be but a trifling work, compared with many in Europe, to join us entirely, and thereby produce one navigation between the Chesapeake and Mississippi.[14] However, should we never be completely joined, a carrying-place, of only ten miles, can be attended with little inconvenience; and, at all events, should the metropolis be fixed near my head navigation for sea-vessels, it would produce an intercourse and commercial connexion, between the eastern and western territory, highly beneficial to both; and which might tend to prevent a future separation of the union.[15] For then, merchants of large capital would fix stores at proper stations, along the navigation, from the metropolis all the way down to Kentucky. These they would supply from the great Emporium, with all the necessary articles, and cause the produce they should receive on this side the Allegany Mountains, to be brought down my streams; while that received on the west side, would be carried by water to Kentucky; where vessels might be built, and loaded with provisions, tobacco or other produce, and sent out to the West-Indies or Europe[16] when vessel and cargo might be sold; or the cargo only, and the vessel loaded with West-India produce, or European goods, and sent in, to the federal City, which would be the centre of American commerce.

Exclusive of this material consideration, no river in America can boast of a more eligible situation for a great metropolis than offers itself between the Eastern-Branch and Rock-Creek, on my North banks.—This place is not only most beautifully level, and healthy at the same time, but is surrounded by a fine fertile country, has an excellent harbour, and is perfectly secured from surprise by an hostile fleet, in being upwards of 150 miles by water removed from my Capes, and more than 80 above where any vessel of force can penetrate.—Thus by erecting batteries, on some of the many excellent situations for that purpose, with a chain or two at the narrows, all access would be entirely excluded. Neither would a prudent commander think of carrying any number of ships, 150 miles up a narrow winding and intricate river, where such a diversity of winds and tides are necessary: therefore, an enemy would land their forces at Annapolis, or some other place convenient to the Chesapeake. But, as they would have been discovered, a considerable time before, off Cape-Henry, where a heavy battery and light-house will probably be erected,[17] together with the long time requisite to disembark a large army, with all their necessaries, the forces of the union would have time to collect, in order to repel them, long before they could march with all their appendages, 50 miles through the most populous part of the country[18]—Whereas, when you observed that Baltimore is 18 miles above where

14. Near its source, the North Branch of the Potomac is about ten miles east of the Youghiogheny River which flows northwest through Pennsylvania into the Monongahela River, which then empties into the Ohio River. The ten-mile canal connection proposed by "Patowmack" was never built.
15. Fear of western secession plagued the United States in the 1780s. Westerners were alienated by the proposed Jay-Gardoqui treaty (1786) whereby the United States would forbear the right of navigation on the Mississippi River for twenty-five or thirty years in exchange for a commercial treaty with Spain. The united opposition of the southern states with western interests prevented approval of the treaty. The threat of a separation of the west from the rest of the union diminished in the 1790s only to flare up again with the Burr conspiracy (1804–7).
16. This route would follow the Ohio River into the Mississippi and down that river and exit through the port of New Orleans.
17. In August 1789 Congress authorized erection of the Cape Henry Lighthouse which was built several years later. Some of the earliest watercolor sketches of the completed lighthouse were executed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe shortly after his arrival in America in 1796. The sketches are in The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Maryland Historical Society.
18. During the War of 1812 the British landed at Benedict in southern Maryland and marched north to Washington where the Americans were unable to prevent their looting and burning of the capital city.

first-rate war ships can penetrate, you must have forgot that the access to it is open and spacious; therefore, should it become the CAPITAL, an enemy would come with a sufficiency of flat-constructed ships, carrying two tiers of the heaviest metal, which would soon silence your forts; while the troops could land under cover of the ships' guns, and having plundered the treasury, burned the city and archives, would force the Congress to fly to a place of safety.[19]

Patapsco.—During the many long arguments you have just now used, in favour of the situation you have pointed out, you must certainly have forgot that there is not a single place on all your banks where Congress can be accommodated; and you must consider them very solitary beings indeed, when you suppose they will sit down in the woods, or even in a village, when they can have such excellent accommodations in Baltimore.

Patowmack.—You, at the same time, must entertain a very mean opinion of the genius and taste of America, when you imagine, that her collected wisdom would crouch down in any of the ill-constructed towns already built, and convert it into the capital of the Empire. Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, and Charleston, in South-Carolina, are the only two cities in America that may be considered regular—The first, owing to its having been laid out all at once, by the great founder of the state: but even there, the streets are in general too narrow, and the application of the ground not properly attended to. And although, in the second, the streets are wider, yet, the squares being too large, the different proprietors have opened alleys at pleasure, which in many places are irregular, narrow and unwholesome. Almost all the other towns in America, as well as in Europe, having originally been laid off as villages, or upon a small scale, have been since augmented, by the different proprietors adjoining, according as they were actuated by whim, caprice or selfish view: hence their irregularity. The present inhabitants of London, look back with regret to the interested motives that prevented the adoption of the elegant plan proposed by Sir Christopher Wren, upon a great part of that city being burned, in the year 1666.[20]—Should Congress even settle in Baltimore, what would foreign Ambassadors think of their taste, when they observed but few tolerable streets in all the Metropolis; and even those, disgraced by such a number of awkwardly-built low wooden cabins, the rest of the town being divided by irregular narrow lanes? However, it is to be presumed, that the genius of America will rise superior to the Gothic taste, that has so long pervaded the world, in the construction of cities, and will, in some measure, revive the elegance, regularity and grandeur of the ancients, at least in the seat of the supreme legislature.

In order to produce a free circulation of the air, and thereby prevent the pestilential vapours which too frequently breed in great irregular cities, it is necessary that the streets run in straight lines, crossing one another at right angles, and be sufficiently spacious, while, at the same time, in laying out a town, the most advantageous appropriation of the ground ought to be particularly attended to.—For, if the squares are small, too much of the area will be swallowed up in the streets; and, if improperly large, a deal of ground will

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19. The British also attempted to capture Baltimore in the War of 1812, but were repelled by the Americans at Fort McHenry. Thus "Patowmack"'s predictions that Baltimore was more susceptible to enemy attack than Washington were proved wrong.

20. The Great Fire of London occurred between the second and sixth of September, 1666. The myth that Sir Christopher Wren's (1632–1723) plan was approved by the king and Parliament, but defeated by the selfishness of London citizens who prevented its execution, began in the mid eighteenth century and has generally been accepted since then. Actually King Charles II and Parliament rejected Wren's plans and left the matter of rebuilding the city to royally appointed commissioners and city surveyors. The commissioners (Wren included) eventually abandoned the attempt to adopt a new ground plan for the city and instead worked toward improving the existing one (T. F. Reddaway, *The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire* [London, 1940/1951]. pp. 311–12; Harold Priestley, *London: The Years of Change* [London, 1966], pp. 179–95).

become of little value in their centre.—Should Congress, therefore, prefer the situation on my banks, already prescribed, I would beg leave to submit to their candid consideration, the subsequent plan, with, at least, little variation.

[In a lengthy statement "Patowmack" describes his plan for the actual dimensions of the various streets, alleys, and squares for the city in "the Federal district, to be laid off from Rock-Creek down my North banks."] The public buildings of Congress to be towards the north end, on the most proper situations; and at the same end, a few rows of squares, running from east to west, might be laid out in large lots, fit for the accommodation of the Members of the Legislature, Officers of Government, Foreign Ambassadors, and those of Fortune, who might incline to reside there. The residue of the city to be laid off in lots, suitable for Merchants, Manufacturers, and others. . . . [21] The lots within the alleys would suit a variety of descriptions of inhabitants, equally well with those on the streets; and it might be proper to prohibit wooden buildings fronting either streets or alleys, as well as to stipulate, that houses fronting the streets should be at least two stories high. No carriage of any kind to be suffered to go into the alley, but when receiving or delivering its load; and the market-houses to be in squares appropriated for the purpose, regularly interspersed through the city, and not ridiculously planted in the middle of the streets. These restrictions would be attended with no inconvenience to the purchasers of lots, and would render the metropolis the darling residence of foreigners of property.

Patapsco.—But can you conceive, that the numerous proprietors of the six miles square, you have just mentioned, would all agree in laying out their lands in a city, upon the plan you have prescribed, and that many would not contend for much narrower streets? Besides, it would frequently happen, that a single lot would be owned by two or more proprietors, in very unequal divisions.

Patowmack.—The inconveniencies you have just mentioned, with many others that might actually arise, would render it necessary for the United States, by an Act of Congress, to become sole proprietors of the seat of the city; allowing the present possessors a very generous price, proportioned to the present situation and various qualities of the land; therefore the necessity of not including any town already begun to be built. Besides, upon this system, the people would be eased of an immensity of taxes, by the increase of the property, in the sale of lots, without any injustice or injury done to individuals.—For it would pour a sum of money into the treasury,[22] much more than sufficient to erect all the public buildings, level and pave the streets, maintain an engineer, to inspect the true elevation and exact situation of all foundations of houses on the streets and alleys, conduct water through the city, by means of cisterns and pipes, with whatever else might be necessary to render the CAPITAL healthy, convenient and beautiful. . . .[23]

Patapsco.—Your tedious prolixity has wore out my patience; but can you imagine, that a considerate Congress would raise up a new city, when it must necessarily attract part of the inhabitants and wealth of those already built?

Patowmack.—I readily admit, that it might attract some of the inhabitants of other great towns in the Union; but, the benefits they would receive in return, would much more than compensate. The federal city would operate in the same manner with them, as London does with all the trading and manufacturing towns in Britain and Ireland. It would be the

21. At this point "Patowmack" relates more detailed dimensions on squares and alleys in the Potomac capital plan.

22. "Patowmack"'s prediction that the sale of lots would provide more than enough money to build and run the city was incorrect. Auction after auction in Washington in the 1790s ended in very few sales. By 1800 less than 10 percent of government-owned lots had been sold at public auction (James Sterling Young, *The Washington Community 1800–1828* [New York, 1966], pp. 18–21).

23. "Patowmack" goes on at this point to defend the "particulars" of his plan relating to the various sizes of streets and alleys.

main spring and key of commerce; and, by being the chief ostensible city to Europe, would become the stay and staff, as well as the nursing mother of all the rest. Besides, under a regular government, the influx of people and property from Europe, will justify the raising of new cities; and in that case, it would be as well that the residence of Congress should be comfortable as otherwise.

Patapsco.—Upon the principle you have proceeded, do you mean that any of the ten mile square should extend over into Virginia?

Patowmack.—As the new Congress are now sole sovereigns of all American waters, and there being nothing left in the power of any state legislature, whereby it can in any manner embarrass them, in the vicinity of their own district, such a division would be both improper and unnecessary; more especially, as the convention of Virginia, in their 12th amendment proposed to the new Constitution have, in effect, prohibited the residence of Congress within that state;[24] and from the ardent, though feeble, exertions of its last assembly, to overturn the whole system, it is reasonable to suppose, that Congress will despise wasting any of such precious territory in a State whose people are led by a faction. It is therefore probable, that if the capital is fixed where I have pointed out, the federal district will extend one mile down my banks, below the limits of the city, and three upwards, above Rock-Creek; which would include the Little Falls, where any reasonable number of mills, or other water-works, might be erected; at the same time, extending northwards the whole ten miles, which would give room for gardens, villas and country seats.

Patapsco.—Should your banks be preferred, I have heard Fort-Cumberland[25] mentioned as the place.

Patowmack.—When Congress shall settle at Fort-Cumberland, or any other place 150 miles removed from navigation for sea-vessels, they may be considered as hermits indeed. Besides, should they incline to sequester themselves from any superintendence of the government and protection of the numerous cities, and most material part of the Union, along the Atlantic, they may find caverns amidst the Allegany Mountains, if possible, more retired than Fort-Cumberland.

Patapsco.—Your decided and peremptory manner of arguing, excludes all hope that, at present, I shall be able to convince you of my superior advantages; and even admitting your banks should be preferred, Baltimore is likely to be the temporary residence for several years. However, as the evening is now far spent, and it being near the time that we rivers go to rest, I wish you a very good night.

March 19, 1789.

In its closing comments, "Patapsco" made what was perhaps the most realistic statement about Baltimore's chances for becoming the capital. There was very little likelihood Baltimore would become the permanent seat of government—the city received little outside help in its efforts to attract Congress. What chance there was evaporated when the famous assumption-residence deal was agreed

24. The twelfth amendment proposed by the 1788 Virginia ratification convention stated: "That the exclusive power of legislation given to congress over the federal town and its adjunct district, and other places, purchased or to be purchased by congress of any of the states, shall extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good government thereof" (*Debates and Other Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia*, [Richmond, 1805], p. 474).

25. Fort-Cumberland, now Cumberland, Maryland, was first settled in 1750. The fort was built in 1754 by Colonel James Innes at the juncture of Wills Creek and the Potomac River in western Maryland as a defense against the French and Indians. In 1763 a town was laid out which was incorporated in 1815.

upon. The debate over the capital had diminished while the Congress discussed Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's First Report on Public Credit. Hamilton was encountering opposition in getting his plan for the assumption of state debts approved by Congress. In order to secure the necessary southern votes for assumption, a behind-the-scenes deal was worked out whereby the capital would be located on the Potomac if the Southerners provided the needed votes for assumption. Thus Baltimore had lost out as a permanent seat for the national capital, but not through any lack of effort on its part.[26]

While the seat of the permanent capital had been settled, there still remained the problem of a temporary capital until the new city on the Potomac could be occupied. New York City was no longer satisfactory, and other cities vied for the honor. Baltimore was still determined to become the capital, if only temporarily. The issue was the talk of the town and newspaper articles continued to argue the advantages of the city. In early May, 1790, Congress considered the question of a temporary residence, and Philadelphia was offered. Baltimore representative William Smith immediately proposed his home town as a substitute, but, as he wrote Otho Holland Williams, "unfortunately for Poor Baltimore, the Representatives from Maryland were divided, [George] Gale, [Daniel] Carroll & [Benjamin] Contee for Philada.—the other three [Joshua Seney, Smith himself, Michael Jenifer Stone] for Balto. & so the question was lost."[27] Baltimoreans were furious with the Potomac congressmen who had voted against their city, and were determined to eliminate them from office in the upcoming elections.

The city residents, however, did not give up the idea that their town could be the national capital. After Congress had decided to remove to Philadelphia, a group of Baltimore citizens gathered at a town meeting to discuss the issue. Perhaps feeling that Congress might change its mind after it had met in Philadelphia, the townspeople discussed again the advantages to be had if the seat of government moved to Baltimore for several years. But they did not want the capital if Congress would meet in Baltimore for only a session or two. In such a case, "a spirit of luxury and dissipation" would be introduced, "encroaching upon the domestic habits of such persons among us as have a general acquaintance among the members of Congress, and would wish not to be deemed inhospitable or unsociable."[28] Such discussions, however, were in vain; the capital had moved to Philadelphia, and would remain there until the new city was ready on the Potomac.

Baltimoreans were so obsessed with the possibility of attracting the national seat of government that they discussed little else. Even the momentous decisions being made in the Congress had little impact on them. Frustrated Congressman William Smith wrote to Otho Holland Williams that he "would be glad,

26. Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization 1789–1801* (Chapel Hill, 1957), pp. 4–5. For two different versions of the assumption-residence deal, see Jacob E. Cooke, "The Compromise of 1790," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 27 (1970): 523–45, and Norman K. Risjord, "The Compromise of 1790: New Evidence on the Dinner Table Bargain," *ibid.*, 33 (1976): 309–314.

27. William Smith to Otho Holland Williams, May 31, 1790, Otho Holland Williams Papers, (MS. 908) Maryland Historical Society (hereafter cited as OHW Papers).

28. *Maryland Gazette* or *Baltimore Advertiser*, June 25, 1790.

occasionaly to hear, the sentiments of my fellow citizens on the principal points in the Secy's Report."[29] Later Smith wrote that he still had not heard his constituents' opinions; "not, even in the Baltimore papers, do I see a single Politician step forth or against. I expect at least an outcry against" assumption.[30] Smith was correct; the merchants were opposed to the assumption of state debts, but their concern for that matter was outweighed by the national capital issue and the growing rift between the Chesapeake and Potomac factions in Maryland.

The national capital issue exposed the basic Chesapeake-Potomac division which had emerged in Maryland politics. The Chesapeake faction consisted of those living in Baltimore and the Chesapeake counties, whose fortunes were tied to the meteoric rise of the port city. This "frustrated, young, emerging society," in attempting to obtain a predominant position in Maryland politics, constantly ran into the opposition of the Potomac faction, "a ripe settled society" which was determined to retain its political control of the state.[31] The two factions were on a collision course and met face to face in the 1790 congressional elections.

The hot political issue in 1790 dealt with the question of which geographic region in Maryland would control state politics. The Federalist-Antifederalist division which had been so important in the 1788–89 elections was now completely obliterated. The Baltimore town meeting which drew up the Chesapeake ticket for the 1790 elections chose an odd conglomeration of Federalists (Joshua Seney, Philip Key, William Vans Murray), Antifederalists (Samuel Sterrett), and paper money advocates (William Pinkney). Although half the ticket consisted of Federalists, it was obvious that their strength in Baltimore had been diluted. The candidate for Baltimore's own district was Samuel Sterrett, who had been the perennial Antifederalist candidate in the previous elections. But Baltimore voters were not concerned with his past political preferences; the important point was that he was the Chesapeake candidate, and that he was concerned primarily with Baltimore's interests.

When Baltimoreans went to the polls in the fall of 1790 they gave over 3,000 votes to each of the Chesapeake candidates; the most any Potomac candidate received was 6.[32] According to the votes cast, 99 percent of Baltimore's electorate turned out for the election. Comparison with the previous and later elections demonstrates that some fraud had been perpetrated in the city in order to get such a turnout. Many unqualified voters were probably rounded up by the Chesapeake leaders and sent "*en masse* to the polls." Baltimore's vote helped to bring victory for the entire Chesapeake ticket throughout the state. Such an impressive victory alarmed the old Potomac elite.[33]

The Potomac faction, which controlled the state legislature, was determined to prevent another Chesapeake victory. In December 1790 they changed the election laws so that voting for congressmen was put on a district rather than a statewide basis. The lawmakers felt that by isolating Chesapeake sentiment, they could

29. William Smith to Otho Holland Williams, January 28, 1790, OHW Papers.
30. William Smith to Otho Holland Williams, February 16, 1790, OHW Papers.
31. Wheeler, "Urban Politics," p. 156.
32. Brown, "Party Battles," p. 369.
33. Wheeler, "Urban Politics," p. 157.

limit a Chesapeake victory to the Baltimore district. As a result of this legislation, the Chesapeake faction soon disappeared, but the rivalry between the Chesapeake and Potomac regions was to continue for some time.[34]

The Chesapeake faction was not the only group to disintegrate after the 1790 elections. Baltimore Federalists were never again able to muster the strength they had displayed before 1790. As Federalism came to be more and more identified with the established Potomac elite, Baltimore leaders turned to the growing opposition movement that soon fluorished as Jeffersonian Republicanism. Baltimoreans could not share their political power with a group they saw as inimical to their existence. By the end of the decade, Baltimore, a stronghold of the Federalists in 1789, had become the bastion of Maryland Republicanism. Thus, in the long run, the debate over the location of the capital in Maryland was only a manifestation of the basic sectional divisions which would split the Free State in the early years of the Young Republic.

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34. Maryland, *Laws of Maryland*, 1790, Chapter XVI, cited in Brown, "Party Battles," p. 103; *ibid.*, p. 105.

Flour Milling in the Growth of Baltimore, 1750–1830

G. TERRY SHARRER

IRON PRODUCTION, SHIPBUILDING, TEXTILE MANUFACTURING, AND FLOUR MILLING were Baltimore's seminal industries. The Principio Company mined iron ore on Whetstone Point in the 1720s, and the town's earliest forge was built on Gwynn's Falls before 1730. By 1800 Baltimore was already famous for its local, sharp-built schooners, the predecessors of the clipper ships. The Baltimore Manufacturing Company was organized in 1789 to make cotton duck, and several other textile factories opened in the city during the War of 1812. Flour milling in and about Baltimore began in the 1750s, and by 1800 there were fifty "capital merchant mills" within eighteen miles of the Howard Street flour merchants. Between 1815 and 1827, Baltimore was the leading flour market in the United States and possibly in the world.[1]

World and domestic market conditions, and the expansion of wheat farming in Maryland, established the basic supply and demand factors in the rise of Baltimore as a flour milling and marketing center. Improvements in transportation, advances in milling technology, and the development of an effective marketing system allowed Baltimore's merchants to enlarge their share of the flour trade in competition with the merchants of New York, Philadelphia, Alexandria, and Richmond.

Before explaining these factors, however, it is important to consider that among the major Atlantic trade commodities in the eighteenth century, flour was the most perishable. Cotton, indigo, tobacco, and lumber were clearly more durable than foods. Merchants occasionally complained about watered-down rum or wine freezing in cold weather, but drinks kept well and even improved with age. Sugar, rice, dried meats, and salted fish, transported in tight barrels, rarely spoiled in commerce between America and Europe. English dairymen prepared butter for export by using a concentrated cure of sugar, salt, and saltpeter that supposedly maintained edibility for up to three years. Both wheat and hard-baked breads had a longer merchantable life than flour. Fermentation ruined flour quickly in hot humid climates, and eventually even in a cool dry atmosphere. In 1750 flour milled in Baltimore kept sweet perhaps no longer than

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1. James M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 252; Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York, 1935), p. 277; Victor S. Clark, *History of the Manufacturers in the United States, 1607–1860* (Washington, 1916), p. 192; Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States . . . in the Years 1795, 1796 and 1797. . . . , 4 vols.* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970 reprint of 1799 edition), 3: 605; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 34 (June 7, 1828), p. 238.

three months, and less time than that if sent to the tropics. Consequently, perishability established the physical frontiers of the flour trade.[2]

Before 1823 American flour exports usually exceeded home consumption, and conditions in foreign markets directed trade. Baltimore merchants looked first to the West Indies, then to Europe during the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, and later to South America as having the best markets for flour. Americans generally sought opportunities for foreign business without actually controlling overseas trade.[3]

The flour trade to the West Indies began well before the American Revolution and lasted long afterwards for two main reasons. First, the West Indians specialized in producing cocoa, coffee, indigo, and sugar to the extent that they became dependent on imported food for their own consumption. With high prices and protected markets, Jamaican sugar planters could reap five times the value of an acre of corn from an acre of sugar cane. The islanders raised the crop that gave them the greatest returns and imported their groceries.[4]

Second, flour sent from Europe to the West Indies usually spoiled before it arrived. Atlantic crossings, as from Cork, Ireland, to Kingston, Jamaica, often took two months or more. Voyages from Philadelphia or Baltimore to Kingston ordinarily required a month, even though the route, in a square-rigged ship, involved crossing the Atlantic west to east to pick up favorable winds and currents for the Caribbean. Besides the time and distance of transportation, English flour milled in a cool climate rotted in the tropical heat. American flour, drier because of climate and processing, kept fresh long enough for the journey to the Caribbean. Flour milled in Maryland and Virginia especially suited the West Indies trade.[5]

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2. Samuel Butler, *The Town and Country Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1804* (Baltimore, 1803), p. 28 (for recipe to preserve butter after "the farmers in the parish of Udney, in the county of Aberdeen"); Percy A. Amos, *Processes of Flour Manufacture* (London, 1915), p. 113; Joseph H. Shellenberger, "The Influence of Relative Humidity and Moisture Content of Wheat on Milling Yields and the Moisture Content of Flour," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin No. 1013* (December 22, 1921), p. 12; Clyde H. Bailey, *The Chemistry of Wheat and Flour* (New York, 1925), p. 132; W. B. Kemp, *Cake and Biscuit Making Qualities of Flour From Maryland Wheats*, University of Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 360, March, 1934, (College Park, Md., 1934), p. 332.

3. For United States flour inspections, exports, and home consumption see *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. 34 (June 7, 1828), p. 238; Charles H. Evans, comp., *Exports, Domestic From the United States to All Countries from 1789 to 1883* (Washington, 1884), p. 22; home consumption of flour is simply inspections minus exports.

4. John T. Schlebecker, *Whereby We Thrive: A History of American Farming, 1607–1972* (Ames, Iowa, 1975), p. 43.

5. I wish to thank Mrs. Lydia M. Frank, Assistant Manuscript Librarian, Mystic Seaport, Mystic, Connecticut, for providing me with a sampling of sailing schedules between Britain, North America, and the West Indies in the late eighteenth century. Ship's log no. 687 shows six voyages from Cork, Ireland to West Indian ports in 62, 78, 52, 54, 63, and 44 days. Logs 389, 331, 387, 2, and 496 include voyages from New York and Connecticut ports to the West Indies in 24, 29, 31, 27, 24, and 25 days. For a comparison of English and American flour see Sir Humphrey Davy, *Elements of Agricultural Chemistry* (Philadelphia, 1815, reprint of 1803 edition), p. 127; Antoine Francoise Fourcroy, *The Philosophy of Chemistry*, 7 vols. (London, 1795), 7: 410; for superiority of southern milled flours see John C. Brush, *A Candid and Impartial Exposition of the Various Opinions on the Subject of the Comparative Quality of the Wheat and Flour in the Northern and Southern Sections of the United States....* (Washington, 1820), pp. 29–31; Lewis C. Beck, "Second Report on the Breadstuffs of the United States," U. S. Patent Office *Report*, 1849, Part II, Agriculture (Washington, 1850), pp. 53–55 and p. 74.

Henry Stevenson apparently sent the first cargo of flour from Baltimore to the West Indies in 1758, and by 1769 the city's bread and flour exports amounted to 45,868 tons. Congress and the Maryland Assembly embargoed flour exports during the Revolution, but occasionally permitted shipments for the French and Spanish fleets in the islands. After the war, the British hoped to encourage the Canadians to produce flour for the West Indies, but were entirely unsuccessful. Nevertheless, Britain regulated commerce and navigation to the islands, ensnaring American ships attempting unauthorized access. Baltimore merchants sent about 250 cargoes, some entirely in flour, to the West Indies in 1784 and more later. By 1787 Samuel Smith, then a flour merchant in Baltimore, believed that the high prices the West Indians paid for flour equalled "to full the amount of seizures made by his majestyes officers." United States trade to the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Danish islands met with various restrictions, but in roundabout ways and because of food shortages in the islands, American flour managed to reach all the West Indian markets.[6]

By the end of the eighteenth century, famines and wars plagued Europe, lessening its peoples' ability to feed themselves. Harvest failures of continental proportions occurred in 1783, 1788, 1795, and 1800, and there were national shortages in other years. Wars against the French Republic and Napoleon lasted from 1793 to 1815, with a peaceful interlude of but a single year. In these catastrophies, Americans found opportunities for considerable profit. Jefferson, on the eve of the First Coalition War, wrote: "This [war in Europe] we cannot help, and therefore we must console ourselves with the good prices of wheat which it will bring us. Since it is so decreed by fate, we have only to pray that their souldiers may eat a great deal."[7]

Food became a weapon in the European wars as Napoleon organized the Continental System to starve England into submission. Britain, unable to receive sufficient grain imports from the Baltic and the Low Countries, turned to the United States for wheat and flour. Merchants in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore had especially brisk sales of breadstuffs for England in 1806 and 1807. However, Britain escaped Napoleon's scheme, broke the continental plan, and then sought to restrict American trade. British Orders-in-Council and the Berlin and Milan decrees of France in 1807 trapped commerce from the United States between "the tiger and the shark." President Jefferson responded with an embargo on exports from the United States which lasted from December 1807 to February 1809.[8]

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6. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 374; Ruthella M. Bibbins, "The City of Baltimore, 1797–1850," in Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, 2 vols. (New York, 1912), 1: 19; B. W. Bond, Jr., *State Government in Maryland, 1777–1781* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 86; Lowell J. Ragatz, *Statistics for the Study of British Caribbean Economic History, 1763–1833* (London, 1927), p. 7; Rhoda M. Dorsey, "The Pattern of Baltimore Commerce During the Confederation Period," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 62 (June 1967): 130; Letter of Samuel Smith to M. and T. Gregory, London, April 22, 1787, Samuel Smith Letterbooks, Vol. 1, 174–86, MS. 1152, Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MHS).

7. David MacPherson, *Annals of Commerce*. . . . 4 vols. (London, 1805), 4: 26; European famine shortly before the French Revolution described in *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 20, 1789; Louis M. Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo* (Durham, 1927), pp. 16–17.

8. W. Freeman Galpin, *The Grain Supply of England During the Napoleonic Period* (New York, 1925), p. 147; for Anglo-American wheat and flour trade especially, see William Taylor Papers, vol.

In Baltimore, where flour inspections reached a peak in 1807, business fell to "no demand" levels during the embargo, although John Randolph of Roanoke believed the city's merchants carried on a thriving smuggling trade. England had fewer wheat and flour imports in 1808 than in any year during the nineteenth century. In the end, however, the embargo failed because it hurt Americans more than Europeans.[9]

After the embargo's repeal, American flour exports to Europe reached new peaks because of British demand during the Peninsular War. Even after Congress declared war in 1812, the flour trade to the British army in Spain continued. Jefferson glibly reasoned: "Better to feed them there for pay than feed and fight them here for nothing." In July 1813, however, Congress finally suspended trade with the enemy as the British blockaded the Chesapeake Bay. In September 1814, after burning Washington, the British made a halfhearted and ill-fated attack on Baltimore.[10]

American agricultural productivity, particularly in wheat and flour, emerged over the period 1783 to 1815 as a factor of considerable economic importance in Europe. Besides wars and famines, population growth and industrialization, particularly in England, pointed toward a situation of permanent dependence on food imports. British landed and agricultural interests demanded protection from foreign competition in the home market. In 1815 Parliament enacted Corn Laws that greatly reduced the market for foreign breadstuffs in Britain. Peace had a beneficial effect on farming, although periodic shortages occurred in Europe which resulted in a need for food imports from the United States. Nevertheless, between 1815 and 1830 the European markets for wheat and flour greatly diminished.

Meanwhile American merchants turned to the West Indies trade and beyond to South America. Cuba, before 1823, and Brazil afterwards were the best single markets for American flour. Baltimore had a strong trade with Brazil, exchanging flour for coffee. Improvements in milling technology (see below) allowed Baltimore flour to bear the long voyages to Buenos Aires, and around Cape Horn to Santiago and Lima. Baltimore's flour inspections from 1815 to 1827 exceeded those of other American markets mostly because of the South American trade.[11]

38, (MS. 4650), Library of Congress. William Taylor was a Baltimore flour merchant who dealt heavily in the English trade during the Napoleonic Wars.

9. Baltimore flour inspections from 1798 to 1910 compiled by Bibbins, "The City of Baltimore, 1797–1850," p. 517. In spite of the Embargo's depressing effects, Baltimoreans generally supported the attempt to force concessions from the European powers. Samuel Smith, the Baltimore flour merchant elected United States Senator, carried the embargo bill through the Senate. Five thousand Baltimoreans signed a resolution approving of the embargo. See Walter W. Jennings, *The American Embargo, 1807–09* (Iowa City, 1929), p. 144; Louis M. Sears, "The Middle States and the Embargo of 1808," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 21 (April 1922): 167; William Smart, *Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century, 1801–1820*, 2 vols. (New York, 1964 reprint), 1: 198; also see poem "Embargo" in *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, June 17, 1808.

10. W. Freeman Galpin, "The American Grain Trade to the Spanish Peninsula, 1810–1814," *American Historical Review*, 28 (October 1922): 25; *American State Papers*, Class IV, Commerce & Navigation, 2 vols. (Washington, 1832–1861), 1: 968; see also *Federal Republican & (Baltimore) Commercial Gazette*, August 26, 1811.

11. Frank R. Rutter, *South American Trade of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1897); Social Science Research Council, *Statistical History of the United States* (Stamford, Conn., 1965), pp. 551 and 553. The inspection of flour was a method of guaranteeing uniformity in the quality of wheat exported.

In 1823 and from 1825 onward, consumption of flour in the United States was such that domestic trade in flour was more important than foreign exports. Baltimore merchants had business with Boston customers, trading barrels of flour for barrels of fish. In the domestic trade, however, Baltimore had no particular advantage from the superior keeping quality of its flour. New York could easily send flour to Boston or Newport in two or three days. After 1827 New York became the nation's leading flour market, although Baltimore held its position as second until the Civil War.

The demand for flour in Baltimore's trade was the main impetus for Maryland farmers to raise wheat. Consequently, the era of high flour prices before 1815 encouraged patterns of land, labor, and capital use in farming different from those after the War of 1812 when flour prices declined. Wheat production increased when prices were high because more people raised more grain. Production continued to increase when prices fell because farmers became more efficient.[12]

When Maryland farmers shifted from tobacco to wheat, they did so with as little change as possible in agricultural practices. They substituted one crop for the other, continuing extensive and exhaustive use of the land. Wheat produced good yields even on worn-out tobacco lands until repeated croppings created diminishing returns. The best lands produced about twenty bushels of wheat per acre, while harvests of five bushels an acre were minimally profitable. Stronger plows, seed drills, and cradles came into use in the 1780s, giving farmers more effective tools to plant and harvest larger acreages.[13]

Wheat farms tended to be most extensive on the Eastern Shore. Edward Lloyd IV, for example, owned farms totalling more than 11,000 acres in Talbot County, and raised wheat as his chief cash crop. Eastern Shoremen specialized in producing a white wheat that the Baltimore millers especially desired because its bran did not discolor flour. Farms in the Piedmont counties were generally larger in the western sections where land prices were less expensive.[14]

A movement to improve agricultural practices in Maryland began before the end of the eighteenth century. In 1799 John Beale Bordley advocated techniques in management that became accepted much later. The first agricultural newspaper in the United States was published in Georgetown, District of Columbia, from 1810 to 1812. But reform made little headway. So long as farmers could buy land at relatively low prices and own it virtually tax-free, they could exploit the soil as an inexpensive resource. Increasing population density bid up

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12. The price of flour, in Baltimore, began to fall in the spring of 1817. In four years, the price declined from $14.00 to $3.62 a barrel (see *Baltimore Price Current* for weekly flour prices from 1803 to 1830).

13. "A New Yorker [James Kent] in Maryland; 1793 and 1821," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 48 (June 1952): 138; Leo Rogin, *The Introduction of Farm Machinery in its Relation to the Productivity of Labor* (Berkeley, 1931), p. 126; Charles Carroll Diary, entry for August 4, 1792, (MS. 209), MHS. For good accounts of a farmer raising wheat, see Thomas Jones Record Books, 1784–93, MS. 517, MHS.

14. Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1958), 2: 619; Lloyd Papers, Part II, Maintenance of Property, (MS. 2001), MHS, shows an extensive wheat farming operation.

the price of land, but the good price of wheat, before 1815, brought profits that reinforced old practices.[15]

In the 1820s, however, Maryland experienced the beginnings of an "agricultural revival," as wheat and flour prices dropped to astonishingly low levels. Fundamental to the revival was better land management. Farmers began to understand the principles of agronomy as they read Sir Humphrey Davy's *Elements of Agricultural Chemistry* and Edmund Ruffin's *Essays on Calcareous Manures*. Fertilizers and conditioners, farmers found, improved the texture and chemical composition of the soil. Crop rotations allowed plant nutrients to regenerate. Deep plowing and turning under cover crops fit into the rotation plan. Also, wheat farmers began to use new kinds of plows, seed planters, cleaning fans, and threshing machines that increased productivity and enhanced the market quality of the crop. Seed stock improvement became important, as farmers sought higher yielding varieties and strains that were resistant to fungus and insect infestations. With better tools and seeds, farmers learned they could profitably invest capital in the methods of husbandry, instead of land, to increase returns. "If I were a young man now," wrote an English traveler in 1819, "I would begin on the poor worn out land, which is to be bought low, and may soon be regenerated. . . . " This was the essence of the agricultural revival.[16]

Merchants, manufacturers, journalists, and educators in Baltimore shared the farmer's concern for improvement, joined agricultural societies, read the latest literature, and carried out experiments with plants, animals, tools, and techniques. The Maryland Agricultural Society was formed in Baltimore in 1818. The following year John Stuart Skinner began publishing the *American Farmer* that, together with *Niles' Weekly Register*, gave Baltimore the best agricultural press in the United States for many years. City inventors patented new farm implements and manufacturers made the machines farmers needed. Reformers advocated, when it proved economically realistic, further specialization in wheat farming, which in turn stimulated greater efficiency. Baltimore became the hub of the agricultural revival in Maryland, as it was already the economic magnet of the state.[17]

While Baltimore's flour trade stimulated farmers to raise wheat abundantly, it also created circumstances favorable for improving transportation systems in Maryland. Harbor development in Baltimore, canals on the Susquehanna and Potomac rivers, and turnpikes and railroads were the major projects undertaken

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15. John Beale Bordley, *Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs* (Philadelphia, 1799); Vivian Wiser, "The Movement for Agricultural Improvement in Maryland, 1785–1865," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1963), p. 145.

16. Avery Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606–1860* (reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1965), Ch. 4; William Faux, *Memorable Days in America* (reprint ed., New York, 1969), p. 105.

17. Auguste Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825*, 2 vols. (reprint ed., New York, 1970), 1: 169, remarked on the merits of the Maryland Agricultural Society in Baltimore. Almost half of the Marylanders who took out United States patents for agricultural implements before 1830 lived in Batlimore (see: *Letter from the Secretary of State Transmitting a List of All Patents Granted by the United States....* [Washington, 1831], passim); for a Baltimore farm implement manufacturer and the tools he made, see Jonathan Eastman's advertisement in *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser*, January 1, 1828.

between 1783 and 1830. Of these, harbor improvements benefited Baltimore's trade most directly and immediately. The ability to accommodate more shipping attracted more trade. Neither canal project, on the other hand, terminated traffic in Baltimore and, therefore, gained little of the city's support. Without long-distance waterways, Baltimore's agricultural hinterland was confined by a mountain barrier little more than a hundred miles to the west, and economic barriers of competing commercial cities a short distance to the north and south. Consequently, Baltimore's flour milling industry depended on relatively nearby farmers continuing to raise wheat.

In 1785 the Maryland legislature received petitions (mostly from Baltimore County) for thirteen major roads covering 504 miles. Two years later, the legislature authorized construction of turnpikes from Baltimore to Frederick, to Hanover via Reisterstown and Westminster, and to York. Other turnpikes from Baltimore to Washington, Havre de Grace, and along Jones Falls were begun before the War of 1812. By 1817 the English traveler Morris Birkbeck wrote: "to give an idea of the internal movement in this vast hive, about 12,000 wagons passed between Baltimore and Philadelphia, in the last year, with from four to six horses, carrying from thirty-five to forty cwt. [hundredweight]" Good roads established farmers' access to market, reduced transportation costs, and speeded the flow of goods. Millers in the western counties could market their flour through Baltimore with lower freight costs. In 1798 it cost about $3.30 to haul a barrel of flour from Hagerstown to Baltimore, where it sold for $7.50. In 1825 freight over the same distance cost only 50c, and the flour sold for $4.50. The difference of nine times more value than freight cost in 1825 was mostly the result of the turnpikes. When a team pulling twenty-eight barrels of flour (about 2.8 tons) arrived in Baltimore from Bedford, Pennsylvania, in June 1825, *Niles' Weekly Register* reported "this is another proof of the great utility of good roads. Ten years ago, half that number of barrels was considered a full load, and but few teams were able to haul even so many. . . . " By 1830 Maryland had about three hundred miles of improved turnpikes.[18]

Improved roads also allowed businessmen in the city to extend their activities to the countryside. Baltimore flour merchants entered into partnerships with rural millers, or established enterprises themselves in the country, principally to exchange manufactured goods for flour. Satellite villages developed as temporary sub-markets. Typically, such a village had a merchant flour mill, a store, and several tradesmen's workshops. They occasionally had a separate grist and sawmill operation, or an inn. The village miller bought farmers' wheat, paying either in cash or in credit at the store. Where stores included post offices, farmers could buy goods, pick up their mail, and learn the latest news about prices and trade in commodities. Tradesmen, usually coopers, wheelwrights, and black-

18. Alfred C. Bryan, *History of State Banking in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1899), p. 13; St. George L. Sioussat, *Highway Legislation in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1899), p. 163; Joseph A. Durrenberger, *Turnpikes: A Study of the Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland* (Valdosta, Ga., 1931), p. 37; Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America* (London, 1818), p. 36; Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Baltimore, *A Sketch of the History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1882), p. 29; *American State Papers*, Miscellaneous, Vol. 1, p. 919; Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County, Maryland*, 2 vols. (reprint ed., Baltimore, 1969), 1: 157; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 28 (June 25, 1825), p. 272.

smiths, supported the mill business while offering services to farmers. Although the village did not meet all the farmer's needs, it did provide sufficient attraction to concentrate the economy of a rural neighborhood at one place. Such villages were usually located on or near one of the turnpikes leading to Baltimore. As the local businesses were highly dependent on each other, the village itself prospered or declined and disappeared in response to changes in the flour trade.[19]

In 1829 two railroad companies were formed in Baltimore: the Baltimore and Ohio and the Baltimore and Susquehanna. Both railroads intended to serve the flour trade. The B & O built its first line to Ellicott's Mills and by 1831 was hauling the equivalent of nearly one-fourth of Baltimore's annual flour inspections. The Baltimore and Susquehanna line ran north from the city along Jones Falls and terminated at Tyson's Mill in York Haven, on the Susquehanna. Organizers of the line calculated that they could haul 130,000 barrels of flour from the ten mills along Jones Falls alone. In time the railroads brought Baltimore its route to the west, although the B & O did not touch Wheeling on the Ohio River until 1853.[20]

A fundamental change in milling technology accompanied Baltimore's growth as a center for flour production and trade. In 1783 Oliver Evans designed a mechanical plan for manufacturing flour that eliminated most of the backbreaking labor characteristic of milling. Elevators and conveyors moved wheat and flour through the processing stages. Evans attached fans, rolling screens, a drying device, and bolting reels to the power transmission that had ordinarily operated only the grinding stones. From the point where a farmer delivered wheat to the mill to the final packing of flour in barrels, the machinery carried out the process continuously and automatically. Evan's engineering of automation was the first important American contribution to industrial development after the Revolution.

Although Evans worked out the design in Maryland, he first installed the machinery in a Delaware mill. Maryland granted Evans a state patent in 1787, and the United States issued its third patent to him in 1790. Merchant-millers in Baltimore quickly adopted Evans's plan, the first of the major milling centers to take advantage of the innovation.[21]

The most important benefits of Evans's plan were the reduction of labor costs and the effective drying of flour without artificial heating. Evans calculated that for a mill producing forty barrels of flour a day, the automated machinery reduced

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19. For descriptions of mill villages, see "Park Head Forge and Mills [Washington County]," *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, January 8, 1796; "Rock Run Mills [Cecil County]," *Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette* (Baltimore), October 5, 1811; Jarrett's Mill, Harford County, in *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, January 22, 1813; Martha B. Tyson, *A Brief Account of the Settlement of Ellicott's Mills*, (Baltimore, 1871); and Shriver Collection, (MS. 750), MHS, illustrating the operations of the Shriver family's several businesses at Union Mills, Frederick County, 1795–1830; the village of Rockland, north of Baltimore at the intersection of Falls Road and Old Court Road, was built by Thomas Johnson in 1813 and remains todaywith several of its original buildings.

20. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 3 vols. (reprint ed., Hatboro, Pa., 1967) 3: 166; Milton Reizenstein, *The Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827–1853* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 74; *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser*, September 15, 1829; see also Niles' description of transportation projects, *Niles' Weekly Register*, 34 (April 12, 1828), p. 109.

21. Greville Bathe and Dorothy Bathe, *Oliver Evans* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 289.

the needed laborers from four men and a boy to two men, with a savings of about $300 a year. In effect, the machinery substituted for unskilled labor. Evans actually named one of his inventions for the laborer it replaced, "the hopper boy." This machine spread freshly ground flour, then gathered it for bolting. By continuously raking the flour, exposing it to air, the hopper boy accelerated drying and reduced the time of the operation from twelve to six hours. The better method of drying improved the flour's keeping quality, and accounted for its superiority in long distance trade.[22]

In 1795 Evans published the *Young Mill-wright and Miller's Guide*, explaining his plan in sufficient detail so that any builder could duplicate the construction. Many did, without paying Evans a royalty. Years of patent fights followed with the controversy coming to a decision in 1811 with the suit of Evans v. Robinson. Samuel Robinson actually represented several Quaker millers in Baltimore. They claimed first that Evans had not originated the machines in his plan, excepting the hopper boy. Instead of increasing profits in milling as Evans advertised, they asserted that Evans's plan had only driven up the price of wheat because the capacity to manufacture flour had outstripped farmers' ability to supply wheat. Robinson and company hoped the court, finding for the defense, would abrogate Evans's patent.

However, the decision upheld the plaintiff, Evans. The defeated millers then petitioned Congress, using Thomas Jefferson's testimony against Evans having originated the automated plan. The petition failed. Evans again supported his claim to "improvements on the art of manufacturing grain into meal and flour." The fight between Oliver Evans and the Baltimore millers paralleled the dispute between Rumsey and Fitch over who invented the steamboat, and involved circumstances similar to Whitney's attempts to protect his rights to the cotton gin. Whatever effect patent rights might have exerted in limiting the spread of technological innovation, the actual result was minimal, as those who had a considerable need for a new idea or improved technique quickly adopted it, one way or another.[23]

By 1815 the relative advantage Baltimore millers acquired by being first to adopt widely Evans's automated plan had largely dissipated, as millers in other centers gained technical parity. Also by 1815 a second fundamental change in milling technology occurred—the beginning of steam power. Unlike their experience with automation, however, the Baltimore millers found little success with steam engines.

Oliver Evans also pioneered development of steam engines in the United States and built the first steam mill in 1805 at Pittsburgh. A Baltimore inventor

22. Oliver Evans, *The Young Mill-wright and Miller's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1795), Part 3, Ch. 4, p. 122.

23. Bathe, *Oliver Evans*, pp. 189 and 323; *Memorial to Congress of Sundry Citizens of the United States Praying Relief from the Oppressive Operation of Oliver Evans's Patent* (Baltimore, 1813); *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, May 21, 1813; Oliver Evans, *A Trip Made by a Small Man in a Wrestle with a Very Great Man* (Philadelphia, 1813), p. 13; for descriptions of Baltimore mills, with Evans's improvements, see *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, August 2, 1800, p. 1 for Woodberry Mills; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, December 12, 1796, p. 1 for Mount Clare Mill; (Baltimore) *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1804, p. 3 for Kingsbury Mills; Joseph Scott, *A Geographical Dictionary of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1805), "Baltimore."

had attempted to build a steam mill as early as 1789, but the venture failed, and the city had no steam powered flour mill before that of Charles Gwinn in 1813. Then in 1818 Isaac McKim built a large mill on Smith's Wharf, using most of Evans's design for machinery, and having a sixty horsepower Watt and Bolton steam engine. The mill produced 200 barrels of flour a day, which was as great a capacity as any of Baltimore's mills. McKim estimated that fuel cost two and a half cents to grind a bushel of grain. That small amount multiplied by hundreds of thousands of bushels came to a considerable sum. In fact, McKim was unable to make a profit in the business, paying for coal and wheat while flour prices fell. By 1830 McKim converted the mill to roll copper. Baltimore millers simply could not afford operating expenses for steam power.[24]

Near cheap fuel sources and where water power was insufficient for milling, however, steam power came into use. Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Marietta, Stubenville, and Louisville became centers for steam-powered flour milling. Steam also revitalized country gristmilling. In effect, the second major technological change in milling had a dispersing influence on the industry, opposite to the trend toward concentration that automatic milling had brought in the 1780s.[25]

As Baltimore's flour trade expanded, marketing had a correspondingly larger and more complex role. Individuals and institutions provided new business services. Some involved only the flour trade, while others began in flour, but continued by fulfilling marketing needs in the broader commercial community.

Baltimore merchants learned the advantages of specialized wholesaling in the tobacco trade. Dealing in one commodity made an efficient use of the merchant's talents, while his expertise developed. The increasing volume of business in flour drew wholesalers into that specialty. Between 1796 and 1804 the number of flour merchants in Baltimore grew from fourteen to fifty-one. Types of activity varied from merchants who dealt entirely or partially on their own accounts to those who performed services for commission. Brokers who simply arranged transactions rarely handled flour and instead acted as intermediaries between farmers and millers for the sale of wheat. Since flour merchants specialized in that commodity, they profited and suffered as prices changed. While they could efficiently arrange transactions, storage, transportation, insurance, and other major services, they had limited ability to provide the degree of quality control needed in trading flour to the most distant markets. Consequently, Baltimore's wholesale flour merchants dealt most vigorously in the domestic, European, and West Indian trades between 1783 and 1815. Afterwards, many shifted to other specialties.[26]

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24. *Maryland Journal*, May 19, 1789; John M. Duncan, *Travels Through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1823), 1: 236; Joseph Pickering, *Inquiries of an Emigrant* (London, 1832), p. 28; Karl Bernhard, *Travels Through North America During the Years 1825 and 1826*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1828), 1: 166; *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser*, January 31, 1827; Charles Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1833), p. 86.

25. John L. Bishop, *A History of American Manufacturers*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1868), 2: 217; John Palmer, *Travels in the United States* (London, 1818), pp. 58, 59, 63, and 73 for steam powered mills in Ohio; U. S. House of Representatives, *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on Steam Engines* (Washington, 1836), p. 214.

26. *The Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory* (Baltimore, 1796), *passim; The Baltimore Directory for 1804* (Baltimore, 1803), *passim;* for activities of a flour merchant see Mark Pringle Letterbooks, 1796–1818, (MS. 680), MHS; and William Taylor Papers, 1791–1822, MS. 4650, Library of Congress.

Merchant-millers were wholesale dealers who also manufactured flour. Ellicott and Company, William and Nathan Tyson, Rogers and Owings, Williams and Wilson, Stricker and Beatty were a few of Baltimore's notable merchant-milling firms. They supplied other wholesale merchants and traded independently in domestic and foreign commerce. As manufacturers, merchant-millers could provide the full extent of special handling necessary for trading flour to the most distant markets. Nathan Tyson, for example, introduced a drying process about 1830 to keep flour merchantable up to eight months. As perishability of flour established the physical limits of the trade, the merchant-millers had a fundamental role in the growth of the market. They also played a crucial role in marketing as flour prices declined in the 1820s. Because wheat prices fell more sharply than flour, the merchant-millers were able to increase production, taking profits on a narrower margin. Hence they provided a continuity in the volume of trade that otherwise would not have existed. Between 1783 and 1830 the merchant-millers perhaps more than any others provided the necessary elements for Baltimore's growth.[27]

Baltimore instituted an inspection system in 1796 to establish the city's reputation for good flour in the export trade. The law set a standard for fineness, purity, and weight. No provision adjudged moisture content, although weight and moisture in flour had a direct relation. Inspectors set up their stations on Howard Street and near the harbor, the former mostly receiving flour from the city mills and western counties and the latter taking waterborne flour arriving at the city wharves.[28]

Central market institutions usually benefit people in the central market the most. Since most of Maryland's flour exports passed through Baltimore, the inspection system set a standard for flour quality over the entire state. Understandably, millers in Frederick, Hagerstown, and the western counties viewed Baltimore's inspection system with some hostility. Hard pressed by falling prices for flour in the 1820s, the western millers focused their economic exasperation on Baltimore's inspection, and petitioned the state legislature to abolish the institution. Meanwhile, in 1824 the city enacted new inspection standards, raising the quality of that judged "superfine" in order to compete more favorably with New York. The new standard made it more expensive to produce the best flour, which hurt Maryland's western millers whose inspectors in Frederick and Hagerstown, having authority to pass flour for export from Baltimore, had to keep the quality standard uniformly high for all three markets. It was apparent by the late 1820s, that the millers of New York, not Baltimore, set the competitive standard for merchantable flour.[29]

Financial institutions were developed to promote Baltimore's flour trade. Until

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27. For the activities of merchant-milling firms the best records are the Stricker and Beatty Account Book, 1789–1807, (MS. 790), MHS, and the William and Nathan Tyson Ledger, 1818–1823, (MS. 1570), MHS; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 45 (October 19, 1833), p. 116.

28. *Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1797), pp. 51–58.

29. *Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Baltimore, 1813–1822* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 337–38; *Journal of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, December Session, 1825 (Annapolis, 1826), p. 231; Clement Dorsey, *The General Public Law and the Public Local Law of the State of Maryland*, 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1840), 2: 1495.

1790 Baltimore had no banks or insurance companies, but within twenty years nine banks and five insurance companies had opened. While these institutions served the entire business community, the flour merchants showed a strong interest in expanding financial opportunities, serving as directors, board members, and investors in all the companies. Between 1810 and 1830, however, no new banks opened in Baltimore. The Panic of 1819 especially injured the city's financial situation. New York, by comparison, expanded its bank capital to more than two-and-a-half times Baltimore's means by 1824. With relatively greater financial resources than any of the cities in the flour trade by 1830, New York was able to extend its economic reach from the Ohio Valley to all the world markets.[30]

Even in the simplest view, the story of flour milling and the growth of Baltimore involved complex relationships and factors in trade, farming, transportation, milling, and marketing. The perishable quality of flour had an important influence. Furthermore, Baltimore's history involved influences that shaped the nation: population growth, urbanization, industrialization, and the westward movement. It is the linkages of all these things to each other, however, that makes the story important.

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30. Herman E. Krooss, "Financial Institutions," in David Gilchrist, ed. *Growth of the Seaport Cities, 1790–1825* (Charlottesville, 1967), p. 111; the Bank of Baltimore (est. 1795) had William Winchester, Thomas Hollingsworth, Nicholas Rogers and Elias Ellicott among its major subscribers, while seven of the fourteen directors of the Union Bank (est. 1804) were flour merchants (see *The Baltimore Telegraph*, May 13, 1795, and *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, March 9, 1804). Flour merchants also served on boards of Baltimore's insurance companies (see *Federal Intelligencer and Baltimore Daily Gazette*, April 8, 1795); William Fry, *The Baltimore Directory for 1810* (Baltimore, 1810), *passim*.

Community Leadership: Baltimore During the First and Second Party Systems

WHITMAN H. RIDGWAY

HISTORIANS HAVE FOUND MARYLAND POLITICS FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE Civil War to be fascinating and colorful. There were dominant and controversial individuals, such as Justice Samuel Chase, General Samuel Smith, James McHenry, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Robert Goodloe Harper, to mention only a few from the early period.[1] Public issues, such as those generated by Hamilton's fiscal policies, the polarization associated with the first party system, the rise of Baltimore as a commercial entrepôt, the War of 1812, the rejuvenation of party spirit corresponding with Andrew Jackson's presidency, as well as the events leading up to the Civil War itself, fill the pages of histories from J. Thomas Scharf to the most recent synthesis edited by Walsh and Fox.[2] Of this variety of interesting topics, this article will examine the city of Baltimore during the period of the first two party systems.

The first party era, roughly the period from the 1790s to the War of 1812, has been characterized by the rise of a highly competitive two-party contest around national political issues.[3] The Federalist party, led by a conservative elite, fought

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1. Besides the older biographies of these men, see especially the recent biography of Samuel Smith; Frank A. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839* (Madison, 1971).

2. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Phila., 1881); Richard Walsh and William L. Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore, 1974).

3. The most accessible book is L. Marx Renzulli, Jr., *Maryland: The Federalist Years* (Rutherford, 1972); see also several articles of note: Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland and the Federalist: Search for Unity," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 63 (Dec. 1968): 1–21; Malcolm C. Clark, "Federalism At High Tide: The Election of 1796 in Maryland," *ibid.*, 61 (Sept. 1966): 210–30; Frank A. Cassell, "General Samuel Smith and the Election of 1800," *ibid.*, 63 (Dec. 1968): 341–59; J. R. Pole, "Constitutional Reform and Election Statistics in Maryland, 1790–1812," *ibid.*, 55 (Dec. 1960): 275–92; Edward G. Roddy, "Maryland and the Presidential Election of 1800," *ibid* 56 (Sept. 1961): 244–68; Victor Sapio, "Maryland's Federalist Revival, 1808–1812," *ibid.*, 64 (Spring 1969): 1–17; and William B. Wheeler, "The Baltimore Jeffersonians, 1788–1800: A Profile of Intra-Factional Conflict," *ibid.*, 66 (Summer 1971): 153–68. There are also several good dissertations which should be noted: David A. Bohmer, "Voting Behavior During the First American Party System: Maryland, 1796–1816," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1974); Dorothy M. Brown, "Party Battles and Beginnings in Maryland," (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1962); Lee L. Verstandig, "The Emergence of the Two-Party System in Maryland, 1787–1796," (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1970); and William B. Wheeler, "Urban Politics in Nature's Republic: The Development of Political Parties in the Seaport Cities in the Federalist Era," (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1967).

to perpetuate its role in a changing society. Successful during the first two decades of the new nation, it gradually lost ground to the Republican party, and, despite a resurgence during Madison's presidency, it atrophied after the War of 1812. The Republican party, an urban-rural movement ostensibly supported by immigrants and small and moderate artisans, merchants, and landowners, grew in power and prominence from the late 1790s. With the demise of the Federalist party, it too became dormant during the 1820s. Besides several biographies of Samuel Smith, an important Republican politician, little has been written about Republican leadership.

The second party era is identified with the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency and the controversies generated by his executive actions. The impact of a rejuvenated national competition on the fragmented Maryland first party system, which involved the growth of a Jackson party and the evolution of the Whig party by 1834, is an important subtheme.[4] While Jackson's success is often associated with the expansion of the franchise, which implies a leveling of political leadership as well, political leadership for this period has not been analyzed systematically.[5] Surprisingly, considering the growing importance of the city between the 1790s and the 1860s, not much of this published material treats Baltimore City directly or in any depth for the whole period. Besides several articles, the major modern interpretations are unpublished doctoral dissertations and master's theses.[6] Despite its fragmented appearance, urban historians present a fairly coherent view of leadership in these unrelated interpretations. During the first party era, Baltimore was led by a dynamic cadre of merchants. "Whereas the Philadelphia upper class was a composite of old and new individuals," wrote William B. Wheeler, "Baltimore's top strata was essentially a new aristocracy in which almost all of its members had risen from middle class backgrounds after the Revolution."[7] LeRoy J. Votto asserted that the source of such elite dynamism was a shared Scotch-Irish Presbyterian ancestry.[8] By the second party era, this original merchant elite was fragmented, but the community continued to be led by the merchant class.[9]

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4. For the Jacksonian era see: Richard P. McCormick, *The Second Party System* (Chapel Hill, 1966), pp. 19–31, 154–65, 327–56; Mark H. Haller, "The Rise of the Jackson Party in Maryland, 1820–1830," *Journal of Southern History* 28 (1962): 307–26; Wilbur Wayne Smith, "Jacksonian Democracy on the Chesapeake," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 62 (1967): 381–93; 63 (1968): 55–67. See also, by the same author, "The Whig Party in Maryland, 1826–1856," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1967).

5. My own dissertation addresses this point and attempts to study the distribution of power in several communities. See W. H. Ridgway, "A Social Analysis of Maryland Community Elites, 1827–1836: A Study of the Distribution of Power in Baltimore City, Frederick County, and Talbot County," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1973). See also an interesting interpretation by Robert E. Leipheimer, "Maryland Political Leadership, 1789–1860," (MA thesis, University of Maryland, 1969).

6. Besides my dissertation cited in note 5 and William Wheeler's cited in note 3, both of which stress Baltimore's political character, see especially, Gary L. Browne, "Baltimore and the Nation, 1789–1861: A Social Economy in Industrial Revolution," (Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1973); and LeRoy J. Votto, "Social Dynamism in Boom-Town: The Scots-Irish in Baltimore, 1760–1790," (MA thesis, University of Virginia, 1969).

7. Wheeler, "Urban Politics in Nature's Republic," p. 148.

8. Votto, "Social Dynamism in Boom-Town," pp. 35–36.

9. The fragmentation of the merchant class is best presented by Browne, "Baltimore in the Nation," pp. 120–65.

The thesis of the present article is that for all this impressive scholarship, we know very little about Baltimore community leadership in the first and second party eras. This is because these earlier studies treat leadership as a fragment of some larger definition of politics and because most never study Baltimore City directly but incorporate it into a wider interpretation.[10] This paper will attempt a more precise definition of community leadership in the context of the urban experience.

Historians generally avoid investigating the most salient question concerning urban politics: who governs; that is, who makes important community decisions? This failure may be attributable to the types of materials used by historians, namely collections of private correspondence and newspapers, or to the unfortunate fascination with placing local events in the context of larger, and seemingly more significant, state and national issues. I suggest that it is equally due to the unwillingness to ask the right questions. Rather than analyze power directly, historians describe politics and purported trends; instead of trying to uncover verifiable processes to explain change, the literature is still anchored to the veneration of great men.

In order to understand "who governs?" we need to state explicitly what is meant by governing. It is important to differentiate between someone's reputation for being powerful, which is often gleaned from allusions found in private correspondence, and the exercise of power itself. Borrowing concepts and approaches from modern community power studies, this research will focus on discovering who wielded power in several important community decisions at two periods of time.[11] The decisions to be studied are: political recruitment to elective office; leadership in important local concerns; and influence in political patronage. Because the emphasis of local concerns changed over the two time periods, the specific issues were different for each. In the first part of the study, between 1796 and 1806, the salient community issues were internal improvements and the establishment of a water company. In the second period, 1827–36, they were internal improvements and political reform. Patronage was introduced to ascertain if a covert group of individuals might exert power behind the scenes.

Even with a more precise identification of those "who govern," we have only begun examining the more complex question about the distribution of community power itself.[12] For the purposes of clarity, let us call the decision-makers the decisional elite. In order to appreciate the role the decisional elite played in general community affairs, let us also identify several other elites in each period, which will be named strategic elites. Strategic elites represent groups of individuals having a high probability for community leadership because they possess scarce and valued community resources. The most obvious strategic elite

10. The exceptions to this generalization are cited in note 6.

11. For a fuller discussion of this matter see Ridgway, "A Social Analysis," pp. 1–46; for the literature on community power see the following bibliographic guides, Claire W. Gilbert, *Community Power Structure*, University of Florida Social Sciences Monograph, Number 45 (Gainesville, 1972); and Willis D. Hawley and James H. Svara, *The Study of Community Power: A Bibliographic Review* (Santa Barbara, 1972).

12. This concept has not been well developed. For an excellent statement see Suzanne Keller, *Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society* (New York, 1963).

would be the positional elite, composed of individuals who held public office in the legislative and executive branches of the local, state, and federal governments. A second strategic elite was the traditional elite, comprised of the hundred wealthiest men reaggregated from the manuscript tax records. The third, and final, strategic elite was the commercial elite, representing a group who would be active in boosting community development, drawn from the persisting directors and presidents of the bank and insurance companies. Once individual members of these various elites were identified, their social attributes were gleaned from manuscript tax, census, genealogical, and parish records.

By comparing the decisional elite to the various strategic elites, we may better understand which groups, if any, dominated community leadership. Furthermore, by comparing leadership patterns at two distinct chronological periods, we should be able to tell how such domination changed over time.

It is important at the outset to emphasize that the 1790s was a period of stress and transition. The legacy of the Revolution, insuring a well-ordered society governed by an elite epitomizing affluence and tradition, was already badly undermined before the advent of party politics. To those losing power, many of whom had labored to contain leveling impulses during the Revolution itself, this transformation was yet another tear in the fabric of society which would inevitably result in the social chaos represented by contemporary France. This sense of foreboding permeated the words of Charles Carroll of Carrollton when he wrote Alexander Hamilton about the election of 1800. "I much fear that this country is doomed to great convulsions, changes, and clamities," he warned, "The turbulent and organizing spirit of Jacobinism, under the worn-out disguise of equal liberty and right, and the equality of property, held out to the indolent and needy, but not really intended to be executed, will induce anarchy, which will terminate here, as in France, in a military despotism."[13] Carroll, and men like him, were staunch Federalists who continued to hold positions of power and influence in the community in the 1790s.

The exact source of the popular discontent about which Carroll complained is hard to identify precisely, but the broad outlines are distinct. It was obvious that the stratified, paternalistic postrevolutionary society, which favored a strong unifying religious consciousness, could no longer contain the diversity of its component parts. Members of older faiths, such as the Presbyterians and the Catholics, as well as converts to dynamic evangelical sects, notably the Methodists, favored a society more tolerant of religious diversity. Similarly, men representing the ethnic and economic variety of the changing city questioned the right of "the better sorts" to rule and set social norms in the name of the whole community. Despite the exaggerated rhetoric of party contests, and notwithstanding the dark prognostications of persons like Carroll, the challenge to the

13. Carroll to Hamilton, 27 Aug. 1800, Kate M. Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737–1832, With His Correspondence and Public Papers*, 2 vols. (New York, 1898), 2: 239. Carroll was equally pessimistic when he wrote James McHenry, "If our country should continue to be the sport of parties, if the mass of the People should be exasperated and roused to pillage the more wealthy, social order will be subverted, anarchy will follow, succeeded by Despotism; these changes have, in that order of succession, taken place in France" (Carroll to McHenry, 4 Nov. 1800, Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* [Cleveland, 1907], p. 473).

status quo was led by men with deep economic and religious roots in the established community.

The ruling establishment during the first party era was both conservative and elitist. This was reflected in the Maryland Constitution of 1776, which imposed property qualifications for voting and officeholding, and the notion of limited government was repeated in the original city charter in 1796. Since there was never any question that the propertied should rule, the apparatus for political recruitment was simple and direct. Prospective candidates for elective office published cards announcing their candidacy, debated the issues in erudite public letters, had their friends mobilize voters, and established a poll on election day. Few candidates actively campaigned. Considering their distrust of the propertyless, it is not surprising to discover that prominent men among the propertied class led the community. In Baltimore they included General Otho H. Williams, James McHenry, Colonel John Eager Howard, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and later Samuel Chase.

Some of these leaders had close ties to the new federal government. General Williams and Dr. McHenry were influential in the early 1790s because of their former association with President Washington. Both exerted tremendous influence over local patronage appointments.[14] Williams, serving as the collector of the Baltimore port until his untimely death at forty-five in 1794, was also connected by marriage to the family of William Smith, a prosperous merchant who would be elected to the Maryland Senate in 1801. McHenry, secretary of war from 1796 to 1800, was constantly in touch with political developments in the city and acted as a party organizer.[15]

Contrary to the image of Baltimore politics being dominated solely by merchants, wealthy landowners were an important element in community leadership. Besides being appointed major-general in the reorganized militia in 1794, Colonel John Eager Howard represented Baltimore City and County in Congress, the Maryland Senate, and later in the United States Senate during this era. In addition to serving in all four community elites, Howard was an important lay leader in St. Paul's Church. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, an influential Maryland senator in the 1790s, lived in rural Maryland but held enough property to place him in the Baltimore traditional elite. Besides his keen interest in Baltimore political developments, his sons-in-law, Richard Caton and Robert Goodloe Harper, were active community leaders in their own right. Community leadership was tied to closely woven family interconnections as well as affluence.

These men of power and influence actively sought to bring gifted men, men

14. See esp. James McHenry to George Washington, 17 April 1789, reel 122, 6 Jan. 1791, reel 120; and O. H. Williams to the President, 4 and 14 July 1789, reel 124, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress. John O'Donnell to McHenry, 1 January 1796, Ser. II, Vol. 3; and William Hindman to McHenry, 8 Sept. 1798, Ser. I, Vol. I, James McHenry Papers, LC. The Otho Holland Williams Papers (MS. 908) in the Maryland Historical Society also attest to his influence during the early years of the Washington administration.

15. See esp. James McHenry to Robert Oliver, 12 June 1796, Ser. III, Vol. I; George Salmon to McHenry, 3 July 1798, Ser. II, Vol. 4; McHenry to Oliver, 2 Oct. 1799, Ser IIIa., Box 3; all in the McHenry Papers, LC. See also McHenry to John E. Howard, 20 July 1799, Box 4, McHenry Family Papers (MS. 647), Maryland Historical Society.

without august social lineage or inherited wealth, into the establishment. Luther Martin, Samuel Chase, and Robert Goodloe Harper all settled in the city with the encouragement of the elite. Martin, serving as the state attorney general, wrote scathing attacks on his enemies in the press under the nom de plume, Anti-Gallican. Chase, a former Anti-Federalist, metamorphosed into just as ardent a Federalist in the 1790s.[16] His outspoken political activities while serving on the federal bench resulted in an attempted impeachment by the Jeffersonians when they were in power.[17] Robert Goodloe Harper, after representing South Carolina in the Congress, was induced to move to Baltimore where he immediately became an important Federalist leader. Belittled in the Republican press, Harper's arrival was hailed in an unprecedented fashion by the Federalists.[18]

Considering the belief in their right to rule, it is not surprising to discover that the Federalists met in private to recruit leaders and to decide policy.[19] They backed the unsuccessful effort by James Winchester to oust Samuel Smith from Congress during a volatile 1798 campaign. In the best tradition of elite politics, Winchester, having run a good race, was awarded a seat on the federal bench in 1799. When chances were not auspicious for victory, the Federalists often chose not to field candidates on the assumption that such a tactic would induce factionalization within the Republican leadership and disinterest among the voters.

As popular politics polarized the community into Federalists and Republicans in the late 1790s, political rhetoric became increasingly dogmatic and it suggested that two diametrically opposed parties existed in reality. Despite the egalitarian imagery embodied in Republican political philosophy, which advocated expanded individual rights, party leaders were far from common men. The most prominent Republican leader, General Samuel Smith, came from the same class as many of his Federalist counterparts.

General Smith epitomized the vitality which the merchant class injected into community leadership. A Pennsylvania native, his family migrated to Baltimore before the Revolution, where it prospered. In the 1790s he was a wealthy merchant, a respected Presbyterian leader, a brigadier general in the militia, and a member of Congress who would be elected to the United States Senate in 1802. Smith began his political career as a Federalist and only gradually evolved into a

16. When McHenry recommended Chase for a federal judicial appointment, he pointed out Chase's recent conversion (McHenry to G. Washington, 13 June 1795, Ser. III, Box 1, McHenry Papers, LC).

17. There is no good book length study of Chase. For an adequate treatment see Michael E. Ranneberger, "Samuel Chase: Federalist," (MA thesis, University of Virginia, 1973), esp. pp. 126–62. For contemporary reactions to Chase's political activities during the campaign of 1800, see the Baltimore *American*, 7, 12, 14, 18, 22 August 1800; and 18 Aug. 1801. See also Thomas B. Adams to William S. Shaw, 8 Aug. 1800, Charles G. Washburn, ed., "Letters of Thomas Boyston Adams," American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, new ser., 27 (1917): 120–22.

18. Compare the Jeffersonian Baltimore *American*, 31 May and 3 Aug. 1799, to "Verax" in the Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, 3 Aug. 1799.

19. See Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, 25 Sept. and 5 Oct. 1798; Baltimore *American*, 22 Aug., 6 Sept., 20 Oct. 1800 and 3 Dec. 1801; Philadelphia *Porcupine*, 31 Oct. 1798; John O'Donnell to Governor, 8 Aug. 1798, Box 6, folder 52, Adjutant General Papers, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis (hereafter AG Papers); James Ash to J. McHenry, 24 Aug. 1798, Ser. II, Vol. 4; David Stewart to McHenry, 15 Sept. 1798, Ser. II, Vol. 5, McHenry Papers, LC.

Republican leader during the late 1790s in opposition to administration policies and the leadership of President Adams.[20] His success as a Republican leader, and his treatment in the Federalist press as an apostate, tend to minimize the fact that the roots of his leadership were firmly set in the establishment.

In the same way that the Federalists relied upon family connections, Smith's associations were knit firmly into the elite strata of Baltimore's select merchants and men of affluence. Through his father, he was connected with the Buchanans and the Steretts, and he married into the Spear family. His brother, Robert Smith, who would be appointed Jefferson's secretary of the navy, married another daughter of William Smith, and thus was tied to the late Federal leader, General Williams. During his long political career, General Smith not only boosted the political careers of his kin, he also labored hard to secure nominations and appointments for his political friends.[21] Indeed, his connections were so widespread that the opposition press censured him in 1802: "In fine, have you any business, either civil, political, or military, with any of the federal, the state, or the municipal government, you will find some branch of the hydra-headed family to have a voice in it."[22]

The explanation of Smith's ultimate success was due to the fact that he belonged to the establishment at a time when he could convert those advantages to electoral victory. During the war crisis surrounding the 1798 congressional election, Smith, the revolutionary hero of "mud fort" and a militia general, used musters to proselytize his political views to large numbers of potential voters.[23] The controversy over the politicalization of the militia into Republican and Federal units when the country might go to war with France, tends to make us forget that officers were appointed by the state executive, which was decidedly Federalist during much of this era. General John Swann's recommendation to promote Major James Mosher to command Baltimore City's 39th Regiment was

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20. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman*, pp. 46–89; Clarke, "Federalism at High Tide," p. 128.

21. Smith worked very hard to secure an appointment for James H. McCulloch. McCulloch was an early and firm Smith advocate. For his support, see "A Republican," 21 Aug. 1798, and the pro-Smith petition, 1 Nov. 1798, Baltimore *Federal Gazette*. For Smith's efforts to place McCulloch, see the following letters, Smith to Jefferson, 29 Dec. 1806, 8/35–36; Smith to Secretary of the Treasury, 4 April 1808, 8/42; Smith to President, 20 June 1808, 8/38, all contained in the Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administration of Thomas Jefferson, 1801–1809, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives Microfilm Publication M418. See also James H. McCulloch to Smith, 2 and 7 April 1808, Box 1, Samuel Smith Papers, Library of Congress.

22. Baltimore *Republican Or Anti-Democrat*, 25 Oct. 1802.

23. See the following issues of the Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, 7 Aug.; "A Republican," 21 Aug.; "Anti-Gallican," 4, 18 Sept.; 5 Oct. 1798. See also George Salmon to James McHenry, 7 Oct. 1798, Box 2, McHenry Family Papers (MS. 647), Maryland Historical Society; and the following letters to Levi Hollingsworth & Sons from Thomas Hollingsworth, 11 Sept. 1798, Jesse Hollingsworth, 5 Oct. 1798, and Thomas and Samuel Hollingsworth, 9 Oct. 1798, in the Hollingsworth Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is important to realize that the militia could be a useful proto-political organization during periods of stress. In 1798 it was supported widely; yet in 1805 Col. William Lowry observed to N. Pinckney, "It is extremely difficult to persuade respectable characters who are generally here men of business to accept situations the duties of which may interfere with their respective employments" (5 April 1805, Box 7, folder 28, AG Papers). With the rising tension between America and Britain in 1807, however, Col. James Mosher wrote the Governor, "There never was perhaps so great a military spirit displayed in any city as there is in Baltimore at this time" (4 Aug. 1807, Box 7, folder 42, AG Papers).

indicative of a Federalist's faith that there was an establishment concensus. "He is a moderate politician of Democratic principles," Swann wrote, "Yet being American born and [with] considerable property [I] should not hesitate to appoint him."[24] Similarly, as an incumbent congressman, there was little to challenge Smith's prerogative to renomination or his right to boost the candidacy of his political allies. Political conventions, which tended to democratize decision making in political recruitment, evolved only after Smith entered the U.S. Senate and when his political lieutenants had been removed by elective or appointive offices.[25]

The pattern of community leadership by an oligarchy, built upon a foundation of wealth and social connection, characterized other community decisions. The issue of internal improvements, incorporating both canals and roads, was perceived as a vital factor in the future growth and prosperity of the city. While the ultimate bills authorizing state support were passed in Annapolis, with the help of Baltimore's state delegation, members of the elite were active in mobilizing community support through public meetings and campaigns to petition the legislature. Not only did political adversaries such as Generals Howard and Smith join in this endeavour, but members of prominent families and leading merchants combined their energies to secure Baltimore's future prosperity.[26] Indeed, at a moment when they feared the legislature might never act, Mayor James Calhoun led a town meeting to try to solicit ten thousand dollars in voluntary contributions to render the Susquehanna River navigable at its mouth.[27] In the same fashion, this nonpartisan community leadership, constituted from civic and establishment notables, joined together to introduce ample supplies of fresh water to the city by sponsoring a private water company.[28] Earlier, when the city was troubled by frequent fires, the elite formed into similar leadership cadres to resolve that problem.[29]

The dominance of the wealthy and the well connected in community decision making was epitomized by the composition of the first elected government. James Calhoun, related to Samuel Smith by family and religious ties, was elected the first mayor. As a merchant whose wealth placed him in the traditional elite,

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24. Swann to Gov. Ogle, 6 Dec. 1799, Box 6, folder 81, AG Papers. Without Swann's political emphasis, Col. Crooks provided the same insight when he wrote the Governor, "These gentlemen are men of probity, property, and a very large and Respectable Family Connection, and are friends to the Government and Constitution of the Country and (*American Born*), there is every tie that can attach men to their country" (10 Aug. 1807, Box 7, folder 45, AG Papers).

25. Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, "Publius," 19 Aug. 1803. In the early 1790s conventions were introduced, see the Baltimore *Daily Intelligencer*, 6 Oct. 1794; but they fell out of use during Smith's tenure in congress. They were re-introduced in 1803, see the Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, "A Voter From Middle-River Neck," 8 Aug. 1803; "More Oppugnation," 15 Sept., 20 Sept., and "Of the Ward Meetings," 26 Sept. 1804. See also the editorial in the Baltimore *American*, favoring conventions, 14 Sept. 1804.

26. In addition to Messrs. Caton and Harper, Solomon Etting, various members of the Ellicott family, and Isaac Tyson were active working for internal improvement projects (See the Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, 30 June, 2 Aug. 1803; 14 May, 2 Oct. 1805). A good example of a sense of noblesse oblige among the merchants occurred in 1798 when they subscribed $92,000 to build a ship for the U.S. government, (*ibid.*, 16 June 1798).

27. *Ibid.*, 18 April 1801. See also the issues for 13 May and 1 July 1801.

28. *Ibid.*, 21 April, 24 May 1804.

29. *Ibid.*, 29, 30, 31 Dec. 1801; 6 Feb. 1802.

Calhoun had served in county government offices for many years. Six of the eight members of the Second Branch of the City Council also belonged to the traditional elite. Four belonged to St. Paul's Church, two were Presbyterians, and one was a Methodist. Eight of the sixteen members of the First Branch of the City Council were also in the traditional elite. Six were Episcopalians, three Presbyterians, and three were Methodists.

Taking all ninety-six individuals who served in the Baltimore City government, or who were sent to the state or federal government as legislators, it is easy to see why Baltimore had the reputation for being led by a mercantile elite. Over half (51 percent) were merchants. They were also prosperous (£1078), slaveowners (57 percent), and they were predominately religious. Rather than being solely Presbyterians, however, 36 percent of them belonged to liturgical faiths (i.e., Catholic, Episcopalian, and Lutheran).[30]

Table I contrasts the socio-economic attributes of all the various Baltimore City community elites. Members of each elite were predominately religious, wealthy, and slaveowning. In the commercial, positional, and traditional elites, over half were merchants. For the decisional elite, the figure was 39 percent. In terms of average age, members of the decisional and traditional elites were older than the other two community elites. The data for nativity and time of arrival into the city were unfortunately incomplete. If there was a trend, it would be that individuals born outside Maryland were assimilated readily into the commercial, decisional, and traditional elites, while native-born Marylanders were likely to have more success in the positional elite.

Table II presents data on individual membership in various elites. There are several interesting trends here. The wealthy segment of the community participated widely in elite activities. This is especially true for the decisional elite where 48 percent of its members were also in the traditional elite. Secondly, a subtle pattern emerges when we compare membership in one or more elites. For the commercial, positional, and traditional elites, most served in only one or two elites, but for the decisional elite there was a far greater tendency to belong to two, three, or four elites. With the exception of the positional elite, note also the high percentage of members who were connected socially to members of the other elites. This figure would undoubtedly be higher if business associations were included.

The image of Baltimore being run by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the 1790s is misleading. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who migrated to Baltimore directly from Europe, or those who came after first settling in Pennsylvania, contributed greatly to the character and leadership of the city, but they shared power with groups which had settled before. Rather than a Presbyterian hegemony, there was competition for leadership within an establishment based upon wealth. Part of the competition was generated between two rival religious views. Conserva-

30. The liturgical faiths are those which stressed both a structured observance and hierarchy. These groups, especially the Episcopalians, were being challenged in the late eighteenth century by more emotional, or pietistic, faiths, such as Methodism. Placing an emphasis on conversion and an emotional awareness of faith, pietists found the liturgically ordered religion too restrictive. For a good discussion on this see Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture* (New York, 1970), pp. 73–91; and Richard J. Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest* (Chicago, 1971), pp. 58–88.

Table I: Socio-Economic Attributes of the Community Elites, First Party Era

	Commercial Elite (N=101)	Decisional Elite (N=33)	Positional Elite (N=96)	Traditional Elite (N=100)
Birth Place: (a)				
Maryland	11%	18%	15%	9%
Other US	7	18	6	7
Foreign	27	12	9	22
Not Available	56	52	65	62
Average Age (a)	43	50	44	49
Slave Holders (b) (% owning)	60%	61%	57%	78%
Wealth (c) (in Md £)	1550	1822	1078	2210
Occupations: (d)				
Merchant	72%	39%	51%	58%
Skilled	4	3	12	3
Professional	2	18	12	1
Clerical	3	---	2	2
Gent/address only	9	30	---	19
NA	10	9	23	17
Religion: (e)				
Liturgical	37%	24%	36%	39%
Pietistic	41	58	41	43
NA	23	18	23	18
Arrival in Baltimore: (f)				
Before Revolution	23%	21%	19%	25%
1782-1795	17	21	5	11
Unknown or born in City	60	57	76	64

(a) Most of this information came from the Dielman-Hayward file in the Maryland Historical Society; and from (e) and (f).

(b) Since slaves were not included in the tax records, this variable was determined from the census and a compilation of slave-holders from the federal 1798 Direct tax. See: G. Ronald Teeples (Comp.), Maryland 1800 Census (Provo, Utah, 1973); and Bettie S. Carothers (Comp.), Maryland Slave Owners and Superintendents, 1798, Vol. I (NP, 1974).

(c) This information was taken from a microfilm copy of, Baltimore City, Department of the Treasurer, Tax Ledger, 1798?, 1799, 1800, 1803.

(d) Occupations were found in, The New Baltimore Directory and Annual Register for 1800-1801 (Balt., Warner and Hanna).

tives, mainly drawn from the ranks of the elite St. Paul's Church, clung to the vision of a religious, stratified society.[31] Opposing them were pietists who wanted a more tolerant society that would accept religious diversity. Merchants took prominent stations in community leadership, but the distribution of power

31. As a good example of Anglican-Episcopalian concern with the state of post-revolutionary society, see the Vestry Circular (Fall 1788), signed by John E. Howard, among others, which lamented that "our society (is) dwindling into insignificance" (Ethan Allen, *Historical Sketches of St. Paul's Parish* 2 vols. [np, 1855] 2:129 ff). Within the church, correspondence between the clergy illuminate various facets of this concern. See the following, Rev. George S. Keith to Rev. James Kemp, 30 Sept. 1793; Rev. Joseph Jackson to Bp. Claggett, 26 Oct. 1796; Kemp to Rev. Joseph G. J. Bend, Jan. (?) 1797; Bend to Kemp, 9 April 1798; Bend to Rev. William Duke, 3 Nov. 1798; Bend to Duke, 27 March 1801; and Bend to Kemp, 29 April 1802, Vertical File, Maryland Diocesan Archives, on deposit at the Maryland Historical Society. As for Federalist concern, see "Monitor," 19 Aug. 1803, and "The People to the Voters of the City of Baltimore," 13 Sept. 1804, in the Baltimore *Federal Gazette*. See also, in the same paper, several attacks on religious grounds against Republican leaders: "A Christian," 11 Aug. 1798; "Juvenis Americanus," 21 May 1800; and "A Voter," replying to this general tactic, 25 July 1800.

Table I: (continued)

(e) For this variable elite members were traced through the following sources: Maryland Historical Society: Register of the Associate Reformed Congregation, Baltimore--1812-1865; Roman Catholic Burial Records; Christs Church Parish, Baltimore, Register of Marriage, Baptism, and Burials, 1828-1871; Register of the Church of Ascension, Baltimore; English Lutheran Church, Register--Baltimore; Records of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church, Baltimore, 27 October 1823; Inscriptions: Tombstones, Faith Presbyterian Church, Baltimore; First German Reformed Church, Baltimore; First Methodist Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Records; Light Street Methodist Church, Burial Records; First Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, 1767-1879; New Jerusalem (Swedenborgen) Church, Register, 1793-1862; German Evangelical Reformed (Old Otterbein), 1798-1850; Paul E. Holdcraft, The Old Otterbein Church Story (NP, c. 1959); St. Paul's PE Church, Records; St. Peter's PE Church, Register, 1803-1895; Second Presbyterian Church of Baltimore; Trinity PE Church; Independent Church of Baltimore (First Unitarian); Westminster Presbyterian Cemetery, Records; and the First Christian Church of Baltimore, Records, 1810-1892. The following records were consulted at the Maryland Hall of Records: Methodist Records (Film #411), containing, East Baltimore Station, 3, Church Register, 1829-1836; E. B. Station, 2 (Fells Point), Church Register, 1818-1828; E. B. Station, 1, Church Register, 1800-1818; and the Ebenezer Baptist Church, 1821. For various other published records, see J. Thomas Scharf, Chronicles of Baltimore (Balt., 1874), pp. 40-43, 44-45, 54, 77, 123-124, 192, and 281; the Laws of Maryland include church related specific acts, see 1797: chapter 52, 1797:58; 1800:57; 1802:31; 1802:105; 1803:45; 1806:82; 1833:130; 1834:163; and 1839:274. There were also several useful church notices in the newspapers, see, the Baltimore American, 7 July, 4, 29 August 1804; the Baltimore Federal Gazette, 1 July 1796; 21 January 1802; 31 January 1803; 6 February, 15 March, 8 May 1804; 20 March, 14 April, 23 December 1805; 5 April 1806; and also in the Fredericktown Herald, 15 November 1806.

(f) Besides the information found in (a), and the general biographical sources at the Maryland Historical Society, Scharf, Chronicles of Baltimore, pp. 139, 170, and 267 refers directly to when specific individuals settled in the city.

Table II: Multiple Elite Membership: First Party Era

	Commercial Elite (N=101)	Decisional Elite (N=33)	Positional Elite (N=96)	Traditional Elite (N=100)
Commercial Elite	---	48%	31%	37%
Decisional Elite	16%	---	15%	16%
Positional Elite	31%	42%	---	29%
Traditional Elite	36%	48%	27%	---
Membership in multiple elites:				
One Only	49%	18%	56%	49%
Two	37%	39%	30%	37%
Three	9%	27%	9%	9%
Four	5%	15%	5%	5%
Militia Officers (1794-1806)	18%	36%	18%	16%
Related to members of other elites	48%	45%	28%	42%

reflects a basic reliance on wealth, status, and a faith in a hierarchical society. Merchants may have earned their wealth, but like those who inherited wealth, they tended to believe that those with wealth should govern, and they were anxious to form social alliances to reinforce this notion of a good society. Such a system might best be characterized as a merchant oligarchy.

Between the 1790s and the 1830s Baltimore City changed in several important ways. In terms of sheer size, it grew from a population of 13,503 to 80,620. Not only was it the largest urban concentration in the state, but it also commanded most of Maryland's commercial and productive capacities. Based on the figures of the federal 1840 census, Baltimore contained 66 percent of the capital invested for the state and dominated many of the developing manufactories.[32] It is important to recognize, however, that Baltimore was only slowly entering the industrial revolution at this time. The steam engine and the factory system had less to do with its prosperity than its continued reliance on the transshipment of goods and on the grain trade.

These same forty years witnessed the partial eclipse of the influence of the postrevolutionary establishment. During the Jacksonian era Baltimore was still influenced by relics of the first party era. General Samuel Smith, who retired from the U.S. Senate only in 1833 after forty years of federal service, continued to protect his friends in patronage positions and to boost the careers of his kin.[33] Indeed, Smith would be recalled from retirement to serve as mayor after the Baltimore riots in 1835. Although Smith's political nemesis in the 1790s, Colonel John Eager Howard, died in 1827, Howard's sons carried on the tradition of community leadership in a new generation. One would serve as an Anti-Jackson Governor of the state, another as a Jacksonian Congressman, and several others as commercial leaders. There were even third generation leaders, notably Charles Carroll Harper, son of Robert Goodloe Harper and grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who began public careers built on an association with the earlier elite structure. Gifted with wealth and a good education, Harper began his public career with an appointment as secretary to the French legation and after returning to Baltimore he was nominated and elected to the House of Delegates. Other members of the establishment in the 1790s, such as Robert Oliver or Robert Gilmor, who belonged to the traditional elite, continued to be prominent in the 1830s. Indeed, William Patterson, who stood first on the tax rolls in 1800, was still at the top in 1834.

The ability of the establishment to perpetuate itself was diminished with the passage of time in several ways. The early death of only sons curtailed the continued influence of some families.[34] Other second generation leaders, nota-

32. For an elaboration of these data see Ridgway, "A Social Analysis," pp. 369–71.

33. In addition to the citation in note 22, another correspondent in 1829 exposed Smith's nepotism; see the Baltimore *Patriot*, 22 Sept. 1829. For a more involved treatment of patronage in Maryland, see Ridgway, "McCulloch vs. the Jacksonians: Patronage and Politics in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (Winter 1975): 350–62.

34. From a close study of family histories, sons in the following families died leaving no male heir: Charles Garts, John Stricker, Charles Ghequiere, Emanual Kent, John P. Pleasants, George Salmon, John Swann, and Henry Thompson.

bly General John Spear Smith, Samuel Smith's only living son, enjoyed many elite advantages, such as appointment as a militia general and election to the state senate. The younger Smith, however, was unable to rise to the prominence of his father in a changed society. The status and influence of being a church lay leader in a period more tolerant of religious diversity, or a militia general when the threat of war was remote and when the militia itself was under popular attack as being dysfunctional and elitist, or a state legislator when popular political leaders rose to challenge the establishment's right to rule in their name, were advantages that could not be converted into power in the far more complex urban milieu of the Jacksonian era as easily as they were in the simpler Jeffersonian period.

Leaders who were in the second ranks in the early system moved to prominence in the intervening years. Luke Tiernan, a wealthy Irish Catholic merchant, and Jacksonian congressman Isaac McKim, a merchant descended from the Alexander and John McKim family and related by marriage to the wealthy Gilmore family, represented this evolution.

As in the first party era, leaders in the second were often migrants to the city. Roger B. Taney, William H. Marriott, John Van Lear McMahon, and Reverdy Johnson, all attorneys from rural Maryland, settled in Baltimore where they quickly assumed leadership roles in community affairs. Others, such as William George Read, moved from other states, and entered the elite through propitious marriages.

But the most important difference between the two eras was the opportunity for men without ties to the older elite to rise to power during the second party period. Men such as Jesse Hunt, a saddler by trade and a Jacksonian activist who represented the city in the House of Delegates in Annapolis and served as mayor, or William Krebs, a young attorney who belonged to the decisional, commercial, and political elites, succeeded in capitalizing on resources other than inherited elite connections to gain entrance into the ruling establishment. Hunt successfully appealed to the common man, while Krebs epitomized the growing need for professionals in an increasingly complex society. Hunt's assimilation into the ruling establishment was symbolized by his appointment as register of the city after his disgrace caused by his resignation as mayor following the Baltimore riots of 1835.[35]

This pattern of community leadership—mixing old, rising, and new individuals to positions of responsibility—was due in large measure to the increased complexity of a growing and diversified society. The development of the convention system of political nominations was a good example of this process. While the convention system may have been reintroduced in the late 1820s by the older elite to mobilize and control the electorate and thus to return themselves to power, it soon passed into the hands of party activists whose influence increased as the party system became regularized and institutionalized. By the mid 1830s former political leaders were forced to share power with men who rose from the ranks and who gradually came to dominate the institutionalized political roles. A

35. For a detailed treatment of the evolution of Baltimore politics during the second party systen see Ridgway, "A Social Analysis," pp. 96–154.

Table III: Socio-Economic Attributes of the Community Elites, Second Party Era

	Commercial Elite (N=145)	Decisional Elite (N=110)	Positional Elite (N=164)	Traditional Elite (N=100)
Average Age (a)	53	46	42	54
Slave Holders (b) (% holding)	25%	25%	20%	41%
Wealth (b) (in $)	4628	3224	1683	8002
Occupations: (c)				
Merchant	45%	38%	32%	51%
Skilled	5	18	20	1
Professional	4	32	24	5
Clerical	27	5	5	6
Gent./address only	5	4	8	16
NA	14	3	11	17
Religion: (d)				
Liturgical	26%	27%	25%	38%
Pietistic	32	28	27	32
NA	41	45	48	30

(a) See Table I (a).

(b) The information for wealth and slave-holding was taken from a microfilm copy of, Baltimore City, Department of the Treasurer, Tax Ledger, 1828, 1834. Since slave holders were marked as possessing a slave or slaves a real count was impossible to determine.

(c) Occupations were taken from J. W. Matchett (comp.), Matchett's Baltimore Directory (Balt., 1824-1837).

(d) See Table I (e).

Table IV: Multiple Elite Membership: Second Party Era

	Commercial Elite (N=145)	Decisional Elite (N=110)	Positional Elite (N=164)	Traditional Elite (N=100)
Commercial Elite	---	26%	13%	30%
Decisional Elite	19%	---	29%	18%
Positional Elite	14%	43%	---	8%
Traditional Elite	21%	15%	2%	---
Membership in multiple elites:				
One Only	61%	37%	63%	62%
Two	28%	44%	30%	26%
Three	10%	15%	5%	10%
Four	2%	3%	1%	3%

close study of reform and internal improvements activities reinforces this pattern.[36]

The Baltimore decisional elite during the second party system was different in several important ways from its counterpart in the first party period. Its

36. For a fuller treatment of these issues, see *ibid.*, pp. 213-86.

members were younger, with an average age of 46 vs. 50 years, fewer held slaves, but it continued to be propertied—79 percent of them held property valued an average of $3,224. The real difference is apparent when we consider their occupations. While many continued to be recruited from among the merchant class (38 vs. 39 percent), there was an increased participation from the ranks of professionals (32 vs. 18 percent) and skilled workers (18 vs. 3 percent). Yet men who for one reason or another called themselves gentlemen, or who gave only addresses for the city directory, declined from 30 to 4 percent.

A comparison between the decisional elite and the strategic elites, presented in Table III, illustrates several other significant developments reflected by men who dominated community affairs. Based on age, wealth, and occupation, the traditional elite and the commercial elite were very similar. This was unlike the earlier pattern where the decisional and traditional elites mirrored each other. Only members of the traditional elite appeared to maintain any adherence to the institution of slavery during this period of its gradual decline in Maryland. By considering the variables of age and the types of occupations held by members of the decisional and positional elites, it is apparent that younger men, especially professionals and skilled artisans, worked their way into the power structure through the greater opportunity for recruitment for political offices or by an ability to convert resources other than family status and wealth into participation in community decisions.

Such a distribution of power might best be characterized as representing a polyarchy. In a polyarchy no one group, no single community resource, could be tapped for community leadership. Leaders drawn from the diversity of the community, sustained by a variety of power bases, would associate together in loose confederations to govern community affairs. At the same time that new groups participated in community decision making, it is important to realize that the remnants of the decaying power structure continued to share power. The essential difference, however, was that they were but one group among several.

Between the 1790s and the 1830s the distribution of power thus shifted from a merchant oligarchy to a polyarchy. Community decision making, once the domain of a wealthy elite, opened up to groups which had been ignored in the first party era. Terms such as oligarchy and polyarchy might appear artificial and abstract, but it is through such abstractions and systematic methods of analysis that we can better avoid asking trivial questions. This article is a modest attempt toward that redirection of research and interpretation.

Two American Firsts: Sarah Peale, Portrait Painter, and John Neal, Critic

BEVERLY BERGHAUS CHICO

SARAH MIRIAM PEALE OCCUPIES THE UNIQUE PLACE IN AMERICAN ART AND SOCIAL history as our first professional woman portrait painter, whose career spanned over half a century—from 1818 until close to her death in 1885. By the time she was 23 years old, Sarah had been exhibiting still lifes and portraits in Philadelphia for five years, and for at least one year had been accepting portrait commissions in Baltimore. It is generally believed that her training and influences came only from the male members of her family, James Peale, her father; Charles Willson Peale, her uncle; and Rembrandt Peale, her cousin.[1] But a curious portrait she painted, probably in Baltimore, and signed 1823, of a young man named John Neal[2] leads to the strong conclusion that he as America's first art critic did influence Sarah's painting. Moreover, his original written critiques were unsigned and it is his association with Sarah that has enabled this writer to establish the identity of the author of the earliest extant detailed art criticisms in the United States.

In 1822, eight years after Rembrandt Peale founded the Baltimore Museum, his brother Rubens took over its management and conceived the idea of holding a series of art exhibitions that would expose Baltimoreans to American and European art. The FIRST ANNUAL EXHIBITION which included works of sculpture, painting, architectural drawings, and engravings, opened October 1 and lasted for six weeks.

Even though no catalog still exists, a great deal is known about this exhibit from a series of ten articles which appeared in Baltimore's *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* from October 19 through October 31, 1822. Individualized commentaries appeared on approximately 200 works, almost every item exhibited, and at least five were paintings by Sarah Peale—three portraits and two still lifes.[3]

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1. Wilbur H. Hunter and John Mahey, *Miss Sarah Miriam Peale 1800–1885, Portraits and Still Life*, Catalog, The Peale Museum, Baltimore, February 5, 1967 through March 26, 1967, is the basic publication on Sarah Miriam Peale; see also *Notable American Women, 1607–1950, A Biographical Dictionary*, s. v. "Peale, Anna Claypoole, Margaretta Angelica, Sarah Miriam."

2. This Neal portrait was published in Hunter and Mahey, *Miss Sarah Miriam Peale*, p. 22. Its owner is Mrs. Sherwood Picking, a Neal descendant, living in Falmouth, Maine.

3. "Review of the Annual Exhibition, &c. - No. VI," *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, October 29, 1822; VII, October 22; VIII, October 23; IX, October 24; X, October 25; XI, October 26;

Rather than discussing the European works first, the anonymous critic preferred to begin article one with the art of contemporary Americans, including paintings by Thomas Sully, Gilbert Stuart, William Albright, Chester Harding, and many of the Peales. One's curiosity is immediately aroused to find that the critic, after a short discussion of a work by Albright, zeroed in on Item #109—a portrait of Commodore Bainbridge by Sarah Peale—with extraordinarily high praise: "The best likeness that we have seen of him; and a work exceedingly creditable to the fair artist; indicating too, a rapid improvement, and decided manner; which *manner*, by the way, is an excellence in portrait painting."

The Bainbridge portrait, whose owner wishes to remain anonymous,[4] seems to have been inspired by Rembrandt Peale's portraits of heroes—he was commissioned to produce at least five military men for the Baltimore City Council during 1816 and 1818. The closest to Sarah's portrait was Rembrandt's depiction of Andrew Jackson,[5] where he used heavy glazes to produce a naturalness of skin color, detail and contrast to emphasize the golden-threaded epaulets, and most curiously, white impressionistic highlights along the hairline. Rembrandt's earlier portraits had created hair as illusionary individual strands; in the Jackson portrait, a general impression of hair with highlighting was produced. It is this white highlighting that Sarah used for Commodore Bainbridge in producing a lifelike "impression." Sarah also emphasized facial features such as the rounded nose and the dimpled cheek and chin to produce a realistic likeness, and a figure which dominates the canvas.

While few examples of Sarah's earlier portraits are known to exist, two signed and dated 1821—the year before the Bainbridge work—of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Avery, are quite different in their treatment of the sitter.[6] The Averys are seated in what has been termed the First Empire pose—a popular French innovation which Rembrandt Peale had introduced into America some ten years before. They both are seated at a slight diagonal angle to the picture frame, their hands rest gently on the chair, and their heads are straight, with gazes seemingly in direct communication with the viewer. They exemplify the new type of prosperous and genteel nineteenth-century, middle-class citizen, and are portrayed in a stiff and formal manner.

Sarah's first attempt to portray herself—at about age 18—in a *Self Portrait*[7] owned by the extraordinary Peale descendant and historian, Charles Coleman Sellers, indicates an unskilled handling of anatomy, a lack of subtlety in shadowing, and scant detail. How far and fast Sarah had improved between the ages of 18 and 22 is demonstrated by the Bainbridge portrait. During those four years, Sarah had often visited her older cousin Rembrandt and his family in Baltimore—and it is certain that he is responsible, at least partially, for her

XII, October 28; XIII, October 29; XIV, October 30; and XV, October 31, 1822. Note: no articles numbered I through V have been located (microfilm in Maryland Historical Society).

4. The Bainbridge portrait has never been published due to the anonymity desires of the owner.

5. Wilber H. Hunter, *The Story of America's Oldest Museum Building* (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 18–19, contains color reproductions of The Four Heroes of the Battle of Baltimore (Major Edward Johnson, General Samuel Smith, General John Stricker and Lieutenant Colonel George Armistead) as well as General Andrew Jackson, etc.

6. The Avery portraits are reproduced in Hunter and Mahey, *Miss Sarah Miriam Peale*, p. 11.

7. In *ibid.*, p. 9.

extraordinary progress.

John Neal, the writer and critic, influenced Sarah at the next stage of her painting life, for there are several things indicating that Neal, who wrote in 1822 that Sarah's painting skill had rapidly improved, had known Sarah for some time.

John Neal was an impetuous, robust, and agressive fellow, who had left his conservative Quaker background in Maine to take a job in Boston. Eventually he entered into the drygoods business, formed a partnership with Joseph Lord and his brother-in-law John Pierpont, and settled in Baltimore. When the 1812 war restricted sales and the post-war markets busted, so did the businessmen. Neal then, at age 24, decided to study law and qualify for the Baltimore bar, but when Pierpont, who was a Yale-educated poet, experienced some literary successes, Neal's interests spilled over into journalism.

On August 31, 1816, both men became founding members of The Delphian Club, which according to its constitution maintained as goals: "to foster the interest of the members in literary and scientific pursuits" and "to amuse their leisure hours."[8] Members of this all-male society met Saturday evenings, and participated in presenting impromptu epigrams, elaborate puns, quips, and humorous arguments, followed by supper, drinks, and smokes. Each member adopted a club name; John Neal was baptized "Jehu O'Cataract"—thought to be an Irish name, and appropriate to Neal's fiery temper. The Delphians immortalized themselves by publishing their works in *The Portico*, a monthly, and the *Journal of the Times*, a Baltimore newspaper.

By and large, they were a group of genteel and conservative citizens emulating neoclassical models and ideals, coupled with romantic allusions. When challenged to write a critique on Byron (the Delphian idol and honorary member), John Neal amazed his colleagues by reading Byron's entire repertoire and producing a 150-page critique in four days! Apparently, Neal, sometimes considered a genius, other times a fake, was able to identify with Byron's artistic struggle to achieve success despite enormous odds.

Neal's self-confidence became so abounding that in June 1818 he hired a hall in Philadelphia hoping to sell 200 tickets so that an enlightened audience might share in his own recited poems. When Neal arrived at the hall, it was unlighted; not a ticket had been sold, and so he returned to Baltimore in quiet humiliation.

Not to be discouraged, Neal developed Boston and New York connections in his attempts to publish the many novels, historical and romantic, which began pouring from his pen. The most authoritative analysis of these works has been made by Professor Benjamin Lease in his book: *That Wild Fellow John Neal, and the American Literary Revolution*, published in 1972.[9] Lease describes John Neal as searching in those early days for a set of principles defining the nature and function of American literature. Primarily concerned with effect, Neal experimented with ways to evoke responses from his readers using the premise that man's faculties consisted of the *blood*, the *heart*, and the *brain*. Of the three, Neal preferred to focus on the *blood*, hoping through realistic and vivid

8. John Earle Uhler, "The Delphian Club," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 20 (1925): 305–46.
9. Benjamin Lease, *That Wild Fellow John Neal, and the American Literary Revolution*, (Chicago, 1972).

descriptions to arouse the reader's sympathy to the sublime, the mysterious, the unknown, and the unknowable. He felt the *heart* could be stirred with dramatic literary encounters with another heart, but the literary forms attractive to the brain would be artifically contrived and hence superficial. He was, therefore, fascinated with the idea of how a writer could penetrate deeply into human nature, and thereby evoke new understanding.

About the time of Neal's greatest literary outpourings and discouragements, Rembrandt Peale was having financial difficulties with his Museum. It may have been during one of Rembrandt's visits to a Delphian meeting[10] that the two men found they had sympathic parallels in searching for new directions in art and literature.

In 1820 Rembrandt began plans for the painting of an enormous canvas, 24 feet long and 13 feet high, to depict a scene called *The Court of Death.*[11] Neal visited Rembrandt's studio and gave suggestions on how to improve the central figure.[12] The painting was based on a poem titled "Death" by Bielby Porteus, Bishop of London, and according to Rembrandt's own account written twenty-five years later, he depicted "a figure enveloped in Drapery, which indicated form and power, with a shadowy but fixed Countenance, and with extended Arms, as a Judge issuing a decree. At his feet I drew a prostrate Corpse, and on one side the figure of an Old Man, submissively approaching. I had a faint Conception of War going forth, impelled by his own passions, and of Intemperance, Luxury and Disease."[13] Death's courtiers were impersonated by Rembrandt's family: his father, Charles Willson Peale, posed as the old man (with certain modifications from the Antique Bust of Homer), one daughter appears as the standing Virtue-Religion-Hope figure, while another kneels as the Attitude of Pleasure. His brother Franklin posed as the inebriated youth, his baby daughter is found in the right foreground, and his wife helped fill in the background. The most unique and colorful figure was portrayed by the only nonfamily model mentioned in Rembrandt's record: "My friend and Critic John Neal, of Portland, impersonated the Warrior." Whether from embarrassment or otherwise, Neal disclaimed this impersonation in an *Atlantic Monthly* article written forty-eight years later, but he did acknowledge that his arm and legs were used in Rembrandt's historical painting *The Death of Virginia.*[14]

John Neal is next found becoming involved with the Peales beyond mere artistic co-interests. From three unpublished letters, now in the Pierpont-Morgan Library, which Neal wrote in 1821 to his close friend John Pierpont, then living in Boston, it is discovered that Neal was courting Rosalba, Rembrandt's oldest daughter, who was also a close companion to her cousin, Sarah Peale. The girls' ages differed by only one year, and they both were artistically talented, although

10. Uhler, "The Delphian Club," pp. 306; 309.
11. In Charles H. Elam, ed., *The Peale Family, Three Generations of American Artists* (Detroit, 1967), p. 114, details, p. 115.
12. See Neal, "Our Painters," [from *The Atlantic Monthly* (1868–1869)] in Harold Edward Dickson, ed., *Observations on American Art, Selections from the Writings of John Neal (1793–1876)* (Pennsylvania State College, 1943), pp. 74–76.
13. Rembrandt Peale, *Letter on The Court of Death,* (1845), *in* John W. McCoubrey, *American Art 1700–1960,* (New York, 1965), pp. 53–56.
14. Neal, "Our Painters," p. 76.

Sarah was the more gifted. A portrait of Rosalba, painted by her father about this time, now hangs in the Peale Museum.

These letters illustrate the daily routine the painting Peale women maintained (no other written record exists), and indicate that Neal over 150 years ago held extremely modern views toward the issue of Marriage vs. Career for Women.

On April 5, 1821, John Neal wrote:

> Miss Peale . . . Rosalba . . . walks three to four miles a day with me, and devotes from 6 to 7 hours a day to her painting & musick . . . and the rest to domestick affairs, social intercourse, (not visiting—she rarely or ever visits) and the cultivation of her mind.
>
> Of her sensibility I complain, because it proceeds from the unparalleled attention and watchfulness of her parents to her education. . . . Her mind is excellent. Her father has always taught her to think for herself, to reason, and to be firm, without wrangling or argument, in the expression of her opinions. Their intercourse has been that of a brother and sister, rather than father and daughter. . . .

Referring to marriage commitments, Neal continued:

> Of her painting—I desire her to continue it —at least till I discover that it had some ill effect upon her mind—health—or habits—the first symptom of either will be the moment of her *abandonment* of *painting* or *me*—These are trialls [*sic*] to her—and a wife of mine must *expect* trials you know.
>
> I have thought a great deal of her painting, and I see no rational objection to her continuing it. It is at *least*, as elevating a pursuit, as *any* of the frivolous occupations of women in general—& may be, properly managed, a *sublime* one. But how much it affects her domestick habits—that is an important question—not easily to be determined. . . . I would not comment—that a wife should neglect her duties as a wife—merely to become a *painter*—but I see no *reason* why one *naturally* should. I am sure [I] can find time enough to be a lawyer, an advocate, perhaps an orator,—a husband, and an attentive one—without difficulty. Surely then a wife might be altogether as wife, and yet devote 3 or 4 hours a day to so noble an art as painting. But this is a question not to be hastily decided. She manifests astonishing talents in the art.[15]

Something happened to the courtship. Perhaps Rosalba discovered a scandal of three years earlier involving Neal, who while a household border sneaked into the bedroom of Abby Lord, John Pierpont's young sister-in-law. According to Neal's autobiography *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life*, written forty-eight years later, Rosalba "found me out, and sent me adrift—for which I am afraid she has never been sufficiently thankful."[16]

Exactly when Rosalba "found out" and broke off with Neal is uncertain, but it is understandable that after visiting the Peale Museum's first exhibit Neal should choose to write his first series of art criticisms, published in the Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser*, anonymously. Moreover, realizing his interest in the newly developing national art, it is better understood why he chose

15. Neal to John Pierpont, April 5, 1821, Pierpont Morgan Library.
16. Neal, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life: An Autobiography* (Boston, 1869), p. 357.

to critique the American works *first* before the European Masters. And finally, as a young, impressionable man who was attracted to intelligent and talented women, the "anonymous critic" may have used his praise of Sarah Peale's portrait of Commodore Bainbridge as a vehicle for ingratiating himself into her favor.

A curious situation must have emerged when shortly after the exhibition, John Neal apparently requested Sarah Peale to paint his portrait. On first glance, it is readily noticed that while Neal sits in the popular First Empire pose, there is an unorthodoxy about it. The gesture of pointing upwards with his left hand is associated with the Greek god Zeus and neoclassical ideals of Truth. As a member of the Delphian Club, John Neal would have held that oracles and prophecy from "Mount Olympus" served as inspiration for literary pursuits. The book in his right hand naturally alludes to his own achievements. The background drapery, or looped curtain, is reminiscent of rococo portraits by earlier eighteenth century American artists such as Charles Willson Peale or John Singleton Copley.

Nostalgia permeates the portrait and there is reason for it, since three years earlier, when Neal had proposed a Boston man for honorary membership in the Delphian Club, he found his influence so weak that all but one Delphian voted the membership down. Neal's pride was ruptured. He abruptly resigned from the club by a letter which when read to the group was recorded in the Club minutes: "By this act of Clubicular Suicide has Jehu O'Cataract been divested of immortality and of several offices of importance in this Here Ancient, Reputable Club, *Sic transit gloria mundi.*"[17] Neal certainly missed his weekly jocular meetings, which explains why he had become involved with the Peales. They provided a new structure in which he found social pleasure and artistic stimulation—both of which he had lost by his Delphian resignation. The Peales also provided a new arena in which Neal could exercise his self-importance.

During the early months of 1823, Sarah Peale was apparently busy, for she exhibited eight portraits and one still life in the SECOND ANNUAL EXHIBITION of Peale's Baltimore Museum, held from October 20 through November 29 of that year.

Curiously, another series of critical articles, this time a total of seven signed "Remarks of an Old Brush," appeared in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* from October 30 through November 24.[18] The first article opened with an extraordinary-for-its-day, four-paragraph introduction covering the function of the art critic. Basically, the critic claimed that since Americans were currently purchasing many art works but with bad taste, there was a need to educate public appreciation for artistic excellence. Hence, criticisms of artist's works are meant to overcome defects rather than demean the artist in the public view and therefore, the critic's function is to perform a service to art.

Again, the anonymous critic discussed works individually, and out of 253 works exhibited by 47 artists, the second criticism was on a work by Sarah Peale! Item

17. Uhler, "The Delphian Club," p. 316.

18. Remarks of an Old Brush, "Second Exhibition of Paintings at the Museum," *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, seven articles, October 30 through November 24, 1823 (in MHS).

John Neal Portrait. Signed and dated 1823 by Sarah Miriam Peale. 9¼ x 10½ in. Collection: Mrs. Sherwood Picking. Photo: courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library.

#105 was a Portrait of Mrs. H. Birckhead (now in a private Baltimore collection)[19] analyzed by the critic as follows:

> This lady's paintings are much above mediocrity, and in many of them she has done herself great credit. Her *drawing* is good, and her attitudes generally easy. We think, however, that she depends too much upon *glazing* to produce effects—Warm simple shadows would do much better; altho' the appearance, when finished, would not be

19. The Mrs. H. Birckhead portrait is owned by Mr. and Mrs. Lennox Birckhead of Baltimore; reproduced in The Peale Museum, *Rendezvous for Taste* (Baltimore, 1956), No. 101.

> quite so smooth: besides, *glazing* with *lake* and *sienna*, when used upon a light shade, gives too red an appearance to the part, and must in time fade—upon hair and drapery it does better than on the face. It cannot always, indeed, be dispensed with especially in those parts which must be warm and at the same time receding—but, by examining the pictures of that master of portrait painting, Sir Thomas Lawrence, it will be seen how little it is necessary.

While the glazing is not evident in the Birckhead portrait reproduction, a comparison with the portrait of The Duke of Wellington by Sir Thomas Lawrence (now in the Huntington Library)[20] indicates warm simple shadows outlining the cheeks, the chin, and the brow. The Wellington portrait, as Item #109 in the exhibit, was discussed in the second article of the series by the "Old Brush" as follows:

> This is a noble picture and the production of the finest portrait painter living. The colouring is warm and natural, and finished with very little assistance from either scumbling or glazing; which, although they add to the finish by smoothing the roughness and deepening the shadows, yet take much from the merit of the picture and the painter.

The use of natural color to achieve variation in skin tones and depth is what the critic was after as opposed to the use of translucent glazing, a technique Sarah had learned from her cousin Rembrandt Peale.

Further "Old Brush" articles treat Sarah Peale's paintings exhibited in 1823: (1) On the Mrs. Armstrong portrait (No. 112, now in the Peale Museum)[21]: "The head is not so well done as that of 105, the Mrs. Birckhead portrait; the shadow on the right eye near the nose is not sufficiently strong and receding; it is made too red by glazing, as is also the shadow under the chin. There is not sufficient harmony between the figure and the background—the former stands too much out. The drapery is good, and the position graceful. The hands are easy and well drawn—altogether, the work is creditable to the artist." (2) On Mr. Birckhead's portrait (No. 107, now in a private Baltimore collection):[22] In this picture Miss Peale has not been as successful as in No. 105. The contrast between light and shadow is too great. Of the likeness we are ignorant." (3) On Mrs. Noel's portrait (No. 134, now in the Maryland Historical Society)[23]: "The principal fault that we have to find with this painting is, that there is no harmony between the figure and the background. The hand has too much blue in it. The drawing of the face is good and the colouring well managed. The attitude is easy. We cannot help thinking, perhaps improperly,that more yellow in the highest lights would improve this lady's paintings." While the blue in the hand is not readily visible, the highlights which would benefit from additional yellow coloring can be noted.

A number of careful, in-depth observations, revealing a keen-eyed critic, were

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20. The Duke of Wellington portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence is preserved in The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
21. Reproduced in Hunter and Mahey, *Miss Sarah Miriam Peale*, p. 24.
22. Owned by Mr. and Mrs. Lennox Birckhead of Baltimore.
23. Reproduced in Eugenia C. Holland, *et al.*, *Four Generations of Commissions, The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore, 1975), p. 101.

John Neal Portrait. c. 1823 by Sarah Miriam Peale. 30 x 25 in. Collection: Mrs. Sherwood Picking. Photo: courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library.

made on Sarah's other portraits, such as: "the right hand hangs easy, relieved, without coming too much on the eye," or "the right shoulder is perhaps a little too high"; another, "the child's left hand is much too small"; and still another, "the male head . . . is not bad; more determined shadows would, in our opinion, have improved it."[24]

Realizing that John Neal authored these articles, Rembrandt Peale's reference to him as "friend and critic" comes into focus. Of Neal's impact on Sarah, it is demonstrated in an extraordinary companion portrait, which Sarah must have painted sometime late in the year 1823.[25] It is a very different portrait than the one she signed and dated. The earlier one is small—only 10½ × 9¼ inches—and is reminiscent of Neal's past, and earlier American art techniques.

The second portrait of Neal is larger (30 × 25 inches) and seems to be an experiment as to what American artists could do if they looked carefully at nature instead of copying one another. Sarah used the yellows carefully and

24. Remarks of an Old Brush, "Second Exhibition."
25. This portrait is also owned by Mrs. Sherwood Picking.

deliberately around Neal's forehead and cheek, and she was especially delicate in the shadowing beside the nose. These improvements may have resulted from Neal's ideas, but it was Sarah's talent and receptivity which performed the experiment.

The most convincing evidence absolutely proving Neal's authorship of these criticisms is found in signed articles which appeared six years later in *The Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette*, a publication Neal himself edited. These articles have been accepted until now by art historians as the earliest American art criticisms, but they can now be interpreted as mere extensions of Neal's earlier Baltimore efforts.

In 1829 he wrote:

> There is not a landscape nor a portrait painter alive, who dares to paint what he sees, as he sees it; nor probably a dozen with the power to see things as they are. They copy each other. They refer to each other . . . At first they may—at first they do; but it is not for beginners to effect a revolution—mere boys, who give up, long before they have tempered their ignorant zeal with knowledge, or learned where the difficulty lies. . . . We know well what we say—it is a truth which no painter alive would gainsay. It is no light thing to be able to see color. Men have painted half their lives without ever having suspected the existence of the purple shadow that lurks under the yellowish-brown hair of a bright complexion, where it reposes on a clear forehead. But after seeing it, there is another difficulty. They are to paint it, not so that others may see it; but so that others may *not* see it. For such is the workmanship of nature. . . . Now look at the purple shadow we speak of, as it appears under the management of Sr. Thomas Lawrence. Anbody may see it—is that a touch of nature? Or is a trick of art?[26]

The purple shadow of which Neal wrote was painted with precision and naturalness by Sarah Peale, a daring and extraordinarily talented young artist, but who is only now being appreciated for her own—not her family's—achievements.

What happened to John Neal and Sarah Peale after this 1823 double portrait experiment? During the summer of that year, John Neal had published anonymously a scandalous novel titled *Randolph*, which compromised not only the family of John Pierpont and Joseph Lord, but also insulted the Baltimore lawyer and statesman, William Pinkney. While the book was in press, Pinkney died, and since Neal did not retract his slanderous statements, after its publication Pinkney's son, Edward, challenged John Neal to a duel. When Neal refused, Pinkney distributed in public a printed card dated October 11 attesting to Neal's cowardice. No violence resulted, but Baltimore notables became aware that John Neal was by then a *persona non grata* in social gatherings.

By October 20 the Second Exhibit opened at the Peale Museum, and Neal published his last Baltimore art criticisms between October 30 and November 24. By November 10 another novel, *Errata*, appeared; this time its author was identified as John Neal, who wrote *Randolph*. By mid November Neal was making

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26. Neal, "Landscape and Portrait Painting," *The Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette*, New Series, 1 (1829): 113–21 in McCoubrey, *American Art*, pp. 146–47.

plans to leave for Europe, and his inevitable departure took place December 15. No other detailed articles ever appeared on subsequent Peale Museum exhibits—Neal had carried his insights, curiosity, and controversy to England, where he joined the writing staff of *Blackwood's Magazine*, and cultivated friendships with Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill.

As to Sarah Peale's future projects, the portraits of Baltimoreans which she produced in the next few years bear witness to how she was struggling with the challenges presented her by John Neal: in the subtle forehead shadow of lawyer-publisher Edward Johnson Coale, exhibited in the 1825 annual; in the careful control of blue shadow which falls on the hands of the banker Alexander Brown; in the eye sockets of City Planner John Hillen; or in the blue shadowing around the forehead, mouth, and chin of Brazilian diplomat Jose Silvestre Rebello.[27] It was this careful search for natural color which enabled Sarah years later to produce the delicate portrait of Mrs. Denny, now hanging in the Peale Museum.[28]

Though John Neal eventually settled back in Maine, married, and continued to write on the state of art in America with accolades showered on the artistic Peale family, he always referred to the males—Charles Willson, Rembrandt or Raphaelle, etc.—with but one brief mention of Sarah "who confined herself to portraiture."[29] The secret of Sarah's talent he apparently kept locked in his portraits. Even the few surviving John Neal letters, preserved in the Maryland Historical Society, and written to prominent Baltimoreans years later,[30] make no mention or inquiry of Baltimore's female portrait painter in residence. Like so much of women's history, the story of John Neal, Critic, and Sarah Peale, Artist, lay hidden until now below the painted surface.

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27. The Coale, Brown, Hillen, and Rebello portraits are all reproduced in Hunter and Mahey, *Miss Sarah Miriam Peale*, pp. 12, 22, 23.
28. Reproduced with close-up in *ibid.*, pp. 13–14.
29. See Neal "Our Painters," pp. 74–78.
30. e.g. Neal to Brantz Mayer, March 17, 1840, and Neal to Charles F. Mayer, February 13, 1841, in Mayer and Roszel Papers (MS. 581.3), MHS.

Ante-bellum Black Education in Baltimore

BETTYE GARDNER

INCREASINGLY AS INTEREST IN BLACK URBAN HISTORY HAS GROWN, SCHOLARS HAVE begun to examine the ante-bellum roots of black communities. In so doing the focus has of necessity come to rest in part upon those blacks who were already free. Who were they? What were their origins? What organizations and institutions gave meaning to their lives? What types of occupations did they engage in? What kind of legislation proscribed their lives? Or to put it more succinctly, what did it mean to be free and black?

The free black community of Baltimore grew tremendously in the decades before the Civil War. In 1790 Baltimore had twice as many slaves as free blacks; by 1820 the 10,326 free blacks outnumbered the 4,357 slaves; and in 1860 the 2,218 slaves were vastly outnumbered by the 25,680 free blacks. Thus on the eve of the Civil War Baltimore had the largest free black community in the nation.[1]

Free blacks in Baltimore were engaged in a variety of occupations. Among them were draymen, ministers, hucksters, stevedores, teachers, caulkers, seamstresses, barbers, grain measurers, seamen, and shoemakers. Although the majority of Baltimore blacks owned little of significance, a sizeable number did own property and acquired modest fortunes.

Ever concerned that they have a community that would endure, the ante-bellum blacks of Baltimore formed some fifteen churches, organized from thirty-five to forty mutual aid and benefit societies, and established approximately fifteen schools. Needless to say, there were numerous problems involved in establishing and maintaining these institutions and organizations in the several decades before the Civil War. This paper focuses on one aspect of the problem, providing schools.

In a speech delivered before the Moral Reform Society in Philadelphia in 1836, William Watkins, a Baltimore native, emphasized the high esteem in which education was held by ante-bellum blacks: "Give the rising generation a good education and you instruct them in and qualify them for all the duties of life . . . give them a good education, and then when liberty, in the full sense of the term, shall be conferred upon them, they will thoroughly understand its nature, duly appreciate its value, and contribute efficiently to its . . . preservation."[2]

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1. Letitia W. Brown, *Free Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1790-1846* (New York, 1972), pp. 12–13.

2. William Watkins, *Address Delivered Before the Moral Reform Society in Philadelphia, August 8, 1836* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1836), p. 14.

Education represented the key that would open doors to economic success and acceptance in the larger society for free blacks. Fearing precisely this, most states adopted laws either forbidding the education of blacks or providing separate schools for them. Even in the northern states various devices were employed to exclude black students. In New England black children were assigned to separate institutions by local school committees. The New York legislature "authorized any school district, upon the approval of a town's school commissioners, to provide separate schools." Southern free blacks met with even greater obstacles. A group of freemen in Frederickburg, Virginia, met with no success when they petitioned the Virginia legislature for permission to establish a school. Instead the legislature passed a new law forbidding free blacks who left the state for an education from returning. By the middle of the nineteenth century black children were in separate schools either by custom or law.[3]

Although the Maryland statutes did not prohibit the instruction of slaves or free blacks, whites in general remained indifferent to educating them.[4] In 1860, for example, it was suggested that in "binding out colored children by the orphans court it was not necessary that any education be given them." Previously, some indentures had carried educational requirements, such as the one requiring John Fernadis to "by the best way . . . have his apprentice William Adams taught to read and write." It must be noted, however, that there was little consistency in the education stipulation. Some indentures carried no education provision, while others stated that the apprentice was to be schooled enough to read, or that he be taught to read the New Testament. In the case of James Cook, he was to be taught to read, or in lieu of this, he was to be given thirty dollars in addition to freedom dues.[5]

The education of free blacks in Baltimore in the decades before the Civil War was largely the result of the corporate support of their churches, the personal effort of far-sighted individuals, and some help from a few interested whites. While some northern cities such as Boston and Philadelphia at least provided separate public schools for black children in 1820 and 1822 respectively, Baltimore officials felt no obligation to provide free public education, although they had no qualms about taxing their black citizens. As early as 1839 a group of blacks petitioned the mayor concerning the policy of taxing free people of color for the support of the public schools.[6]

Several years later a larger group of Baltimore's black citizens, including such persons as Reverend Moses Clayton, Nathaniel Peck, Captain Daniel Myers,

3. Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery* (Chicago, 1961), pp. 113–15; Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters* (New York, 1974), p. 304.

4. James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634–1860* (New York, 1921), pp. 200–201.

5. Jeffrey Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 198; See Baltimore City Records, Indentures, DMP 1826–1829, p. 101; WB 1824–1826, p. 115; WB 1824–1826, p. 290; DMP 1842–1846, p. 74, in Maryland Hall of Records (hereafter MHR).

6. "Petition of James Corner and Others, Praying that Colored Persons May Be Exempted from the Payment of the Public School Tax," January 28, 1839, Baltimore City Records. Although an Ordinance was passed exempting blacks from the school tax approximately a month later, each time additional appropriations were needed, new ordinances were passed concerning blacks (See "An Ordinance to Exempt Colored People from Payment of the School Tax," January 29, 1844; "An Ordinance to Exempt from Taxation for Public School Purposes the Property Owned by Colored Persons in the City of Baltimore," May 11, 1852), Baltimore City Records.

John Jordan, Thomas Green, and Osburn Burley, again petitioned the mayor and city council. This time the request was for financial help in "establishing public schools for black children in the various wards of the city." It was pointed out "that one school had already been established at the corner of East and Douglas Streets and had eighty pupils in attendance. The managers of the school had to depend upon voluntary contributions which were not sufficient for supporting the school." The petition concluded by reiterating the fact that they were being taxed for the support of the public schools and should be helped in their endeavor.[7]

Supporting this request was a second petition, sent by some 126 whites, reminding the mayor of the injustice of taxing blacks for schools which black children could not attend. The petitioners pointed out that "the large annual expense bestowed on the public schools of the city testifies to the general opinion of its paramount importance," therefore it was unfortunate that the education of Baltimore's black children had been left to the "scanty means of their parents and friends." The city refused both of these requests on the grounds that the General Assembly of Maryland "did not contemplate in granting the City of Baltimore a portion of the school fund . . . that it should be used for black schools."[8]

This general apathy led the Baltimore black community to deal with the problem of providing an adequate education for its children as best it could. Since the church remained the focal point for black life throughout the ante-bellum period, it was intimately involved in the process of education. Among those white groups who showed an interest and concern for the education of blacks were the Methodists and Presbyterians, who supported the Sabbath schools, and the Quakers. One of the early Methodist Sunday School Societies was the Asbury Society, which was begun in 1816. It provided separate schools for whites and blacks, with the Sunday and evening school for blacks being held in the rear of Sharp Street Church. Even though by 1817 the evening school had 300 students, for reason that are not clear the school was discontinued for three years and reopened in 1820.[9]

Carter G. Woodson in his classic study, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, captured the religious and educational impact of the Sabbath schools when he remarked that "although cloaked with the purpose of bringing the blacks to God by giving them religious instruction, the institution permitted its workers to teach them reading and writing when they were not allowed to study such in other institutions." In addition to reading the scriptures, John Comley's *Speller* was also used for teaching the basic skills. Most of the churches of the period had Sabbath schools. The school at Bethel Church reported approximately eighty persons in attendance and a library of 1,000 books. St. James, the black

7. "Petition of Persons of Color Asking Aid for the Establishment of Colored Public Schools," February 7, 1850, Baltimore City Records.
8. "Memorial of James Wilson and Others in Favor of the Establishment of Public Schools by the Colored Population," February 7, 1850; "Report of the Joint Committee on Education on the Memorial of Elias Williams and Others for the Public Schools for Colored Children," February 14, 1850, Baltimore City Records.
9. Minutes of the Asbury Sunday School Society, 1816–1824. Lovely Lane Museum, Baltimore.

Episcopal church, conducted both a successful day school as well as a Sabbath school of about 100 students. The Presbyterians also operated two Sabbath schools with 34 white teachers and approximately 260 students.[10]

Even though there were white teachers in the Sabbath schools, the blacks concerned with these schools exemplified their interest in education by setting aside the second Tuesday in each month for consultation. The Colored Sabbath School Union of Baltimore was also established to give direction to the schools and teachers. The preamble to their constitution reflected their concerns: " . . . we pledge ourselves to aid and assist in the mental, moral, and religious instruction of our people in every way and manner, which we think will contribute to our best interests both for time and eternity."[11] By 1859 it was estimated that there were 2,665 students in the city's Sabbath schools.[12]

The Quaker minutes of 1794 reveal that a school had been opened and was being kept under the direction of a monthly meeting for the benefit of the children of free black parents. Succeeding meetings also addressed themselves to the continuing problem of black education. In 1799, 1801, and 1803 the members were encouraged to attend to the religious and secular education of black people.[13]

Although the Sabbath schools filled a void in the educational life of many blacks, the community did not accept them as sufficient for educating the whole person and set about the task of establishing day schools. Daniel Coker, one of the leading figures in the founding of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore, conducted one of the earliest day schools. Known as the African School, it attracted students from Washington as well as Baltimore, and was recognized as one of the most successful black educational institutions. Beginning with only 17 pupils in 1812, some eight years later the school had an enrollment of 150 students.[14]

The seriousness with which ante-bellum blacks pursued the education of the whole person can be seen in the kind of curriculum provided by some of these early schools. William Lively advertised in 1825 the opening of a day and night School "where one could obtain the various branches of an English education, along with the Latin and French languages." The advertisement further stated that a free Sabbath school would be conducted every Sunday from 8 to 10 A.M. and from 1 to 5 P.M. for female adults. Within two years Lively's school had grown and the curriculum offered was more extensive. The school was opened to pupils of both sexes and the subjects offered were reading, writing, arithmetic, English, geography (with the use of maps), ancient and modern history, geometry, natural philosophy, Latin, French, and Greek. He assured the public that the school would always begin with the reading of the scriptures and prayer,

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10. Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York, 1968), p. 130; "The Condition of the Colored Population of Baltimore," *The Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine* (Baltimore, 1838), pp. 169–171.
11. "Our Baltimore Letter," *The Weekly Anglo - African*, September 3, 1859.
12. Noah Davis, *A Narrative of the Life of Reverend Noah Davis* (Baltimore, 1859), p. 84.
13. Baltimore Yearly Meetings, Friends Society, "Reports to Yearly Meetings, 1681–1900" MHR.
14. Charles Wesley, *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom* (Washington, D. C., 1935), pp. 130–31; Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York, 1968), p. 140.

and invited the public, parents, and trustees of the church to an examination of the pupils.[15] This school was one of the most diversified in the region.

Other church-related day schools were operated by Reverend William Livington at St. James Episcopal Church, by Miss Mary Harding at Waters Chapel, and by the Reverends Hiram Revels, Moses Clayton, and Noah Davis at their respective churches. Reverend Davis, realizing his own lack of education, expressed upon his arrival in Baltimore his amazement at the favorable state of education in the city. A former slave who throughout the first few years of his ministry in Baltimore was still working to free his family, Davis further reflected his background when he said, "I felt very small when comparing my abilities with others of a superior stamp." He therefore supported wholeheartedly the idea of providing schools and conducted a day school at the Saratoga Street Church which enrolled approximately 100 students.[16]

The records show that many of the early schools for free blacks were associated with the Protestant churches. The Catholic Church made a significant contribution, however, through the Oblate Sisters of Providence. This order of black nuns, many of whom came to Baltimore from San Domingo in the 1820s, is still operating an academy today. Much of the early work of the Oblates was the result of the interest of Father James Joubert and two black women, Maria Balos and Elizabeth Lange. Both Miss Balos and Miss Lange came from San Domingo, and were conducting a school for "poor Black children" before 1828.[17]

Realizing that the school run by the two ladies might not be able to endure without aid, Father Joubert decided to establish a religious community to insure its survival. With financial support from two wealthy white refugees a building was leased on June 13, 1828, and a school was opened with twenty-four students, half of whom were boarders. In addition to the paying students, the Oblates also educated and housed gratuitously three poor children referred to as "The Children of the House."[18] Boarding students paid approximately $24 annually to attend the Oblates Academy.

Upon entering the order those women taking the vows dedicated themselves to "God and to the Christian education of young girls of color." The constitution adopted by the Oblates cautioned that the principle of virtue was to be instilled in the students so that they would reflect the attributes of modesty, honesty, and integrity. Following basicly the offerings of the female seminaries, the Oblate Academy stressed reading, history, geography, arithmetic, and writing. The number of students at the Academy varied over the years, reaching 160 by 1856. Because the Academy was such an educational center for black girls, students

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15. *The Genuis of Universal Emancipation* (Baltimore), October 8, 1825, February 25, 1826.
16. W. Ashbie Hawkins, "Early Education of Colored Youth in Baltimore," *The Baltimore American*, September 16, 1894; Davis, *Narrative*, pp. 35–36.
17. Grace Sherwood, *The Oblates 101 Years* (New York, 1931), p. 7; Sister Mary Emma Hadrick, "Contributions of the Oblate Sisters of Providence to Catholic Education in the U. S. and Cuba, 1829–1962" (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1964), p. 19.
18. John Gillard, *Colored Catholics in the United States* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 117; Sherwood, *The Oblates 101 Years*, p. 32.

came from Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., Virginia, and occasionally as far away as Mississippi.[19]

In addition to the schools affiliated with the churches, there were a number of privately operated ones, such as the one run by William Watkins. Watkins was an active member of the American Moral Reform Society for a number of years and was also an outspoken antislavery writer who used the pen name "The Colored Baltimorean" in his column carried by *The Liberator*. Although to a great extent self-taught, William Watkins received his early education in the school run by Daniel Coker, where Watkins and Lewis Wells, Baltimore's only black doctor in the ante-bellum period, were classmates. When Coker left for Liberia in 1820, Watkins, then only 19 years of age, took many of the students and began a school of his own which continued for approximately twenty-five years. Mr. Watkins was said to be a very thorough teacher, accurate in his scholarship and a great disciplinarian. One of Watkins's former students commented years later that "he was strict from the first letter in the alphabet down to the last paragraph in the highest reader." His students were compelled to be correct in both speaking and in writing. It was further reported that "a year in his school was all the recommendation a boy or girl of that day needed."[20]

The Watkins Academy, located in a building owned by Watkins, offered courses in English grammar, reading, writing, natural philosophy, music, and mathematics up to the rule of three. There were usually about fifty pupils who paid $2 per quarter for the primary grades, and $5 for the higher grades. Occasionally Mr. Watkins was assisted in the school by his son William and his niece, Frances Ellen Watkins, later to become the well-known writer and poet.[21]

Daniel Payne, a prominent AME minister and later bishop, championed the cause of education and the need for an educated ministry in the AME Church. It is understandable, then, that shortly after his arrival in Baltimore he joined the ranks of those operating schools. Reflecting on this experience some years later, he said: "Within three months after I took charge of Bethel Church, I was requested by the wife of one of the more intelligent local preachers to take charge of the education of her elder children. As soon as it became known that I was receiving her children, I was besieged by other parishoners, so that within twelve months I found myself at the head of a school of about 50 pupils."[22] Daniel Payne's school offered basically the same curriculum as the other grade schools. Religious exercises were also included and according to Reverend Payne, made "the rod seldom needed in his school."[23]

A variety of persons were involved in the evolution of black schools during this period, not the least of whom was Nelson Wells. A free black and a drayman by profession, he was aware of the difficulties of the schools already in existence and

19. "Constitution of the Oblate Sisters," Archival Material, Oblate Sisters Motherhouse, Baltimore; "Archival Material," June 21, 1854, April, 1858, July 27, 1859; See also "Prospectus of School for Colored Girls Under Sisters of Providence," *National Intelligencer*, October 25, 1831.
20. "Essay on William Watkins," The Daniel Murray Collection, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
21. *Ibid.*; Hawkins, "Early Education of Colored Youth."
22. Daniel Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (reprint, New York, 1968), pp. 78–79.
23. *Ibid.*

sought to do something about the problem. A man of some means, in his will he stated his desire to promote the intellectual improvement of "the poor free colored children of Baltimore" by providing a sum of money for this purpose. He indicated that the stock he held in the City Corporation of Baltimore, approximately $3,500 bearing 6 percent interest, be put in a confidential trust. The remainder of his estate went to his wife, but upon her death would revert to the same fund. Wells's will further stated that John Needles, Isaac Tyson, and Edward Jessup, members of the Society of Friends, should be appointed to execute the provisions.[24]

By 1859 there were fifteen schools for blacks in Baltimore. They were all self-sustaining, receiving no state or local government funds.[25] Though ante-bellum black education in Baltimore was better than the education for free blacks in other counties in the state, and perhaps even in some other cities, the records show that this benefit was not bestowed upon them as their right. On the contrary, the majority of whites were opposed to educating the black population for fear that they would begin to challenge their position.

The taxes paid by black property holders were not used for the support of their schools and teachers. Some whites, among them the Quakers and Methodists, volunteered their services as teachers and supported the blacks in their petitions. The records further show, however, that it was such black leaders and teachers as Daniel Coker, William Lively, William Watkins, Noah Davis, and the Oblate Sisters of Providence; such persons as Nelson Wells who provided for a school in his will; and the countless blacks who could only give their encouragement; it was these who actually provided and made possible the education of free blacks in Baltimore prior to 1860. While the acquisition of an education did not open doors or lead to acceptance in the larger society for the majority of free people of color, it strengthened black life and helped to develop a real sense of community. From this ante-bellum experience, there emerged one of the largest and most successful post-Civil-War black communities in the nation.

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24. Baltimore City Records, Wills, Book 119, pp. 266–72.
25. *Anglo African*, August 13, 1859.

The Congregational Community in the Changing City, 1840–70

MICHAEL S. FRANCH

In 1867 the angered bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Maryland denounced those who "forsake unfashionable neighborhoods and desecrate consecrated buildings by selling out God's property, and go where thriving building speculations promise high pew-rent rolls, or where the aggregation of genteel society has massed together pew-holders of sufficient pretensions to suit their taste."[1] The bishop, William Rollinson Whittingham, was disturbed that the vestries of Episcopal congregations were selling their central-city churches and building new edifices in outer-city neighborhoods. This institutional movement raised questions of Christian duty quite different from those raised when church members moved as individuals, for the church's leaving deprived an entire neighborhood of its spiritual benefits. Important issues were thus involved: what was the duty of the congregation? who was it to serve? "Why leave the souls of the poor and go to the rescue of the rich?" asked a Baptist leader; "Why let . . . [the poor] go to perdition and go after the more favored of the human family, who have greater opportunities of helping themselves?"[2]

The movement of congregations from the central city to newer outlying neighborhoods was, in part, a flight to more select neighborhoods. However, it was also the result of changes in the urban environment, of the expectations of church members who wished to worship in a homogeneous congregational community, and of the financial imperatives of the American system of voluntary support for religious institutions. It will not do simply to attribute the migration of congregations to social snobbery, although that was a factor; nor can we view it merely in terms of inexorable urban changes operating on passive institutions. This article is an attempt to sketch one aspect of the interaction between religious institutions and urban social change in the period 1840–70. Although much of the following has applicability to other types of congregations, the focus is on white, English-speaking Protestant congregations.

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1. *Journal of the . . . Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland*, 1867 (Baltimore, 1867), p. 40, hereafter cited as *P. E. Journal*. See also *P. E. Journal*, 1869, pp. 37–39, and "An Old Communicant" to William Rollinson Whittingham, June 25, 1870, Christ Church History File, Maryland Diocesan Archives (MDA).

2. *True Union*, November 8, 1860. The *True Union* was a weekly Baptist newspaper published in Baltimore. All newspapers cited are Baltimore publications.

It is crucial to understand that the Protestant congregation was an independent voluntary association, little different legally from any other association incorporated by the state, and in many respects similar to secular social organizations in its internal dynamic.[3] Its membership was not composed simply of those who lived within a specific geographic area, but rather of those who voluntarily and formally joined; in this sense, all congregations, whatever their theology, were "gathered" churches that primarily existed to serve the needs of their own members.[4]

Each congregation was responsible for its own economic survival. No money could come from the state to maintain it, nor could the congregation—except for missions or congregations in their most embryonic stages—expect denominational subvention.[5] It depended on the freewell contributions of its members to maintain the church building, pay its mortgage and the salary of the minister, and a host of other expenses. If members were not willing to give generously or if the congregation was too poor to sustain itself despite its exertions, it could die. In religion as in business, the voluntaristic American environment offered opportunities but not guarantees, and even such generally prosperous denominations as Episcopalians and Presbyterians had churches that could not support themselves and were forced to disband or merge with other congregations.[6]

The congregation had to attract members in a voluntaristic, pluralistic, and competitive society. It competed not only against secular enticements but also against congregations of its own and other denominations. A large city like Baltimore had congregations of most of the larger and many of the smaller denominations, and the wave of church building of the 1840s and 1850s dotted the city with churches, giving many churchgoers the choice of several congregations within a short walk of their homes.[7] Many people were willing to walk past the open doors of churches of their denomination to attend the church of their

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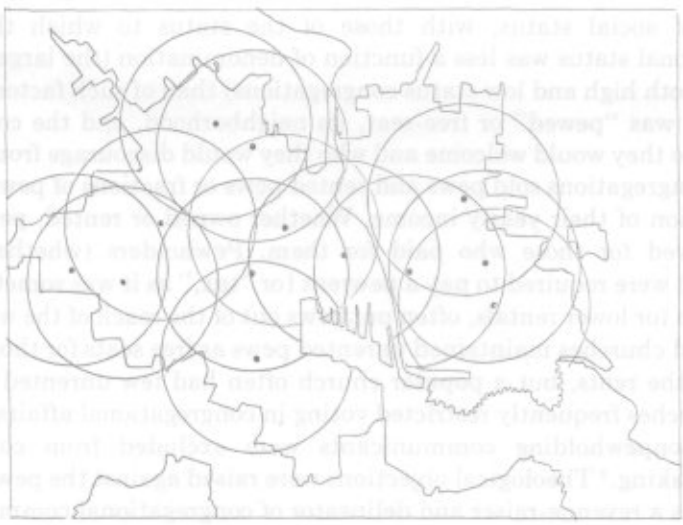
3. Classic formulations of American religious voluntarism are Philip Schaff, *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character* (New York, 1855) and Robert Baird, *Religion in America* (rev. ed., New York, 1856). A useful older study is Henry Kalloch Rowe, *The History of Religion in the United States* (New York, 1924). Recent studies are Winthrop Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (New York, 1953, 1963), Sidney E. Mead, *The Lively Experiment* (New York, 1963), Martin E. Marty, *Righteous Empire* (New York, 1970), and Milton B. Powell, ed., *The Voluntary Church* (New York, 1967).

4. James W. Gustafson, *The Church as Moral Decision-Maker* (Philadelphia and Boston, 1970), pp. 109–10, feels that "voluntary church" rather than "gathered church" is a more accurate term because "the decisive criterion is now the *will to belong*" (emphasis supplied) rather than the religious tests once imposed by true gathered churches.

5. Denominational subvention in the early stages of a congregation's development often made it possible for a mission to develop into a congregation and even to acquire a church building. However, subvention usually was of short duration and the young congregation had to provide for itself or it would fail. For the histories of two such congregations which survived, see Lee Street Baptist Church, *115th Anniversary* (Baltimore, 1970), and Light Street Presbyterian Church, *Souvenir Program of the Semi-Centennial Celebration* (Baltimore, 1905).

6. *P. E. Journal*, 1841, p. 29; Presbytery of Baltimore, *Minutes*, October 13, 1858, Presbyterian Historical Society; Joseph T. Smith, *Eighty Years: Embracing a History of Presbyterianism in Baltimore* (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 51, 53.

7. In 1858 there were ninety-seven congregations and missions of fourteen denominations serving English-speaking whites (William H. Boyd, comp., *The Baltimore City Directory* [Baltimore, 1858], pp. 369–71).



Map 1. White Protestant Episcopal Churches, 1851.
Outline of urban development based on Richard J. Matchett, *Map of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1852). r = ½ m.

choice, and the distance between churches, even between congregations of the same denomination, was sometimes negligible (Map 1).

The concept of the congregation as a voluntary association, its need for financial support, and the pluralism and competitiveness of the society meant that to survive a congregation had to maintain a sense of community sufficient to hold its members, attract new ones, and elicit their financial support. Denied such external supports as state financial aid or civil authority in enforcing behavior, the congregation had to inculcate an inner sense of loyalty among its members. Most congregations developed a full program of formal and informal worship services, Bible-study classes, social meetings, sewing circles, and other auxiliary societies in their effort to build a cohesive congregational community.[8] This sense of community was the congregation's most valuable asset, for only through the commitment of its members could the institution survive.

Each congregation had its own identity, based on many characteristics peculiar to it alone. But most congregations of "mainstream" denominations shared common characteristics that defined the particular congregational community.

Congregations reflected society's prejudices, ethnic divisions, and concern with social status. People preferred to worship with those most like themselves or, in

8. The Franklin Street Presbyterian Church was typical of the active Protestant congregation. In 1858 the church held public worship morning and night on Sunday, a lecture on Wednesday night, a meeting for "conference and prayer" on Friday night, a Female Bible Class conducted by the pastor Friday afternoon, and separate prayer meetings for young men and young women on Saturday afternoon, in addition to its Sunday school (*Record of Franklin St. Presbyterian Congregation*, pp. 14–15 [hereafter cited as *Trustees Minutes*], First and Franklin Street Presbyterian Church). Also see *Directory of the First Presbyterian Church* (Baltimore, 1860) and *Members' Manual of the First Baptist Church* (Baltimore, 1843) for listings of congregational activities.

the case of social status, with those of the status to which they aspired. Congregational status was less a function of denomination (the larger denominations had both high and low status congregations) than of such factors as whether the church was "pewed" or free-seat, its neighborhood, and the congregation's sense of who they would welcome and who they would discourage from attending.

Many congregations sold pews and rented pews or fractions of pews to raise the major portion of their yearly income. Whether owned or rented, pews generally were reserved for those who paid for them. Pewholders (whether renters or purchasers) were required to pay a pewrent (or "tax," as it was sometimes called) which, even for lower rentals, often put pews out of the reach of the working class. Most pewed churches maintained unrented pews as free seats for those who could not afford the rents, but a popular church often had few unrented pews. Since pewed churches frequently restricted voting in congregational affairs to pewholders, the nonpewholding communicants were excluded from congregational decision-making.[9] Theological objections were raised against the pew system, but its utility as a revenue-raiser and delineator of congregational community meant that most non-Methodist congregations relied on it.[10] Only the Methodists, of the larger denominations, generally resisted it, and even in that denomination, some congregations instituted the system over the vigorous protests of the denominational leadership.[11]

Whether free-seat or pewed, neighborhood population also was a significant factor in congregational status. Socially heterogeneous neighborhoods tended to make socially heterogeneous churches, especially if they had free seats, but the new neighborhoods which developed from the 1840s tended to be more class segregated than older neighborhoods because developers built houses of similar price or planned neighborhoods of uniform status; this was especially true in the northern and northwestern parts of the city which attracted many of the members of center-city congregations, and eventually the congregations themselves.[12]

Whatever its social status, congregations tended to look to those most like existing members as potential members. Blacks evangelized blacks, Germans

9. Baird, *Religion in America*, pp. 268–69; First Constitutional Presbyterian Church, *Trustees Minutes*, July 5, 1855, Presbyterian Historical Society; Franklin Street Presbyterian Church, *Trustees Minutes*, 29 February 1848; Charles Street Methodist Episcopal Church, *Act of Incorporation and Constitution . . . and By-Laws* (Baltimore, 1843), pp. 11–12, 16–19.

10. *True Union*, October 21, 1852, September 11, 1856, October 23, 1856; *P. E. Journal*, 1863, p. 22, 1867, pp. 52–53; Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions*, Vol. II, *To Reform the Nation* (New York, 1950), p. 5.

11. The two Baltimore exceptions were the Charles Street Methodist Episcopal Church and St. John's Methodist Protestant Church. The former began as a "pewed" church in 1843, while the latter adopted the system in the same year (James Edward Armstrong, *History of the Old Baltimore Conference* [Baltimore, 1907], p. 268; Henry Slicer, *Journal*, March 21, 1843, Lovely Lane Museum; Charles Street M. E. Church, *Trustees Minutes*, January 17, 1843, Mount Vernon Place United Methodist Church; *A Statement of the Facts Alluded to in "An Address to the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Protestant Church, in the Maryland District"* [Baltimore, 1844]; Richard L. Shipley, *A Century of Christian Service* [Baltimore, 1943], p. 2).

12. Franklin Street Presbyterian Church, *Record Book* (Sessional minutes), Vol. I, p. 3; Henry Stockbridge, Sr., "Baltimore in 1846," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 6 (March 1911): 23; *Stranger's Guide to Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1852), p. 15; *True Union*, November 9, 1854 (quoting the *American*); *Sun*, August 29, 1851, April 19, 1855, May 14, 1855, September 19, 1856; *Lutheran Observer*, September 24, 1847.

evangelized Germans, and white, English-speaking Protestant congregations looked to those most like themselves in social status. When faced with a congregational crisis by the out-migration of a substantial number of financial contributors, the decision makers of central-city congregations looked to neighborhoods where those most like themselves lived.

Whatever the status of the neighborhood, the members' residential proximity to the church was an important factor in the sense of congregational community. Despite the absence of a formal parish system, we can speak of an informal "parish of proximity." Before 1859, when horsecars introduced relatively cheap and efficient public transportation to the city, most Baltimoreans got from place to place on foot.[13] Baltimore was a hilly city of ill-paved, ill-drained, and filthy streets which at night were dangerously ill-lit by infrequent oil and gas lamps.[14] Members who lived near their church could much more conveniently (and safely) participate in the manifold community-knitting activities of the congregation, and it is not surprising that most people chose to worship in a church near their homes. It was not uncommon for 60 to 80 percent of a congregation to live within a half mile (about six blocks) of the church, and a large proportion of the membership lived within a quarter-mile (Table 1).

Proximity to the church (or distance from it) played an important part in developing (or hindering) a sense of congregational community, but it is important to remember that for Protestant churches the "parish" was associational rather than physical, social rather than geographic. Its geographic bounds were formed by the proximity of the residences of the largest number—or most influential—members to each other, rather than to the church.

Furthermore, nineteenth-century cities were extraordinarily mobile places, and congregational membership reflected this mobility.[15] Ink dots on maps give an artificial and too-static picture of the congregational community; blinking

13. Some omnibuses (introduced 1844) apparently ran on Sunday, but they were relatively expensive and it seems unlikely that many people used them to attend church. Only 260 of the 3,725 licensed vehicles in Baltimore in 1847 were one- or two-horse carriages, the types most likely to be used for personal or family transportation. Riding rather than walking to worship became possible for large numbers of people only in 1867, when over the objections of the Baltimore Sabbath Association and many clergymen, the city permitted Sunday horsecar operation (John C. Gobright, *The Monumental City, or Baltimore Guide Book* [Baltimore, 1858], pp. 115–17; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* [Philadelphia, 1881], p. 361; Jacob Frey, *Reminiscences of Baltimore* [Baltimore, 1893], pp. 157–58; *Lutheran Observer*, June 11, 1847; Ordinance No. 44 [28 March 1859]; Circular from William Rollinson Whittingham to the Episcopal Clergy of the Diocese, April 4, 1867, No. 32, Pamphlet Vol. VII, MDA).

14. The newspapers and municipal reports of the period are full of complaints about the poor quality of the streets and walks, especially during the winter months when snow and water often made some sections impassible, even in the central part of the city. Open sewers and deep gutters contributed to the difficulty. Great improvement in the condition of the streets and walks seems to have been made by 1860 (*Sun*, November 6, 1839, December 25, 1839; the Reports of the City Commissioner [the official responsible for streets, alleys, and sidewalks], which were printed in the annual compilation of ordinances and other municipal reports, provide an especially good picture of conditions; see especially reports for 1850, pp. 104–05, and 1856, p. 98).

15. Peter R. Knights, *The Plain People of Boston* (New York, 1971), p. 62. Unfortunately, there are no studies of population mobility in Baltimore comparable to those of Boston. Knights notes that a strong motive for intracity mobility in Boston, especially for the lower classes, was the need to be near work. Since Boston was a compact city, it is likely that in a large, sprawling city like Baltimore, in which even the port facilities were scattered among several locations, there would be even more mobility.

Table 1

Distance of Members' Residence from Their Church

Congregation	Catagory and Date	Percentage of Group Located	Percentage of Located Group within 1/4 mile	1/2 mile
Franklin Street M.E.	(a)1860	62	50	82
Baltimore Hebrew Congregation	(b)1849	46	4	41
	1860	50	27	55
First Independent (Unitarian)	(c)1845	62	49	76
	1860	70	45	74
Christ Episcopal	(c)1830	64	48	77
	1838	64	31	84
Franklin Street Presbyterian	(d)1847	76	27	67
High Street Baptist	(e)1850	80	23	64
St. Peter's Episcopal	(f)1857/58	73	41	79
	1866	48	21	61

(a) Households, male members and probationers of both sexes
(b) Heads of families
(c) Pewholders
(d) Households, male members
(e) Members' households
(f) Communicants' households

Sources: Franklin Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Class Rolls, 1860-1875, Lovely Lane Museum; Adolph Guttmacher, A History of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation (Baltimore, 1905), pp. 36-37, 38-39; First Independent Church, Pew Tax Rolls, 1845, 1860, First Unitarian Church; Christ Episcopal Church, Vestry Records, April 3, 1830, May 9, 1838, Maryland Historical Society; Franklin Street Presbyterian Church, Members, 1847-1918, First and Franklin Street Church; High Street Baptist Church, Pastor's Visiting List, Wilson Papers, Maryland Historical Society; St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Parish Register, 1858-67, Grace and St. Peter's Episcopal Church; city directories for year or nearest year.

lights would better illustrate the sequences of joining and departure, and change of residence. The congregation had to add more new members than it lost as old members died, dropped out, or moved away, or it would wither and die.[16]

As long as a congregation could keep a core of old members and rent a sufficient number of pews—or raise enough in plate collections or subscriptions in free-seat churches—to provide an adequate income, it could survive despite conditions such as rapid membership turnover which hampered the development of a sense of congregational community. However, the combination of the

16. The Franklin Street Presbyterian Church seems typical of congregational mobility. Nearly 40 percent of its original members left the congregation between its founding in 1847 and the end of 1857, and nearly 55 percent were no longer members by 1860; the 227 members of the church at the end of its first ten years represented 553 arrivals and departures (Franklin Street Presbyterian Church, *Membership Register*, 1847-1917).

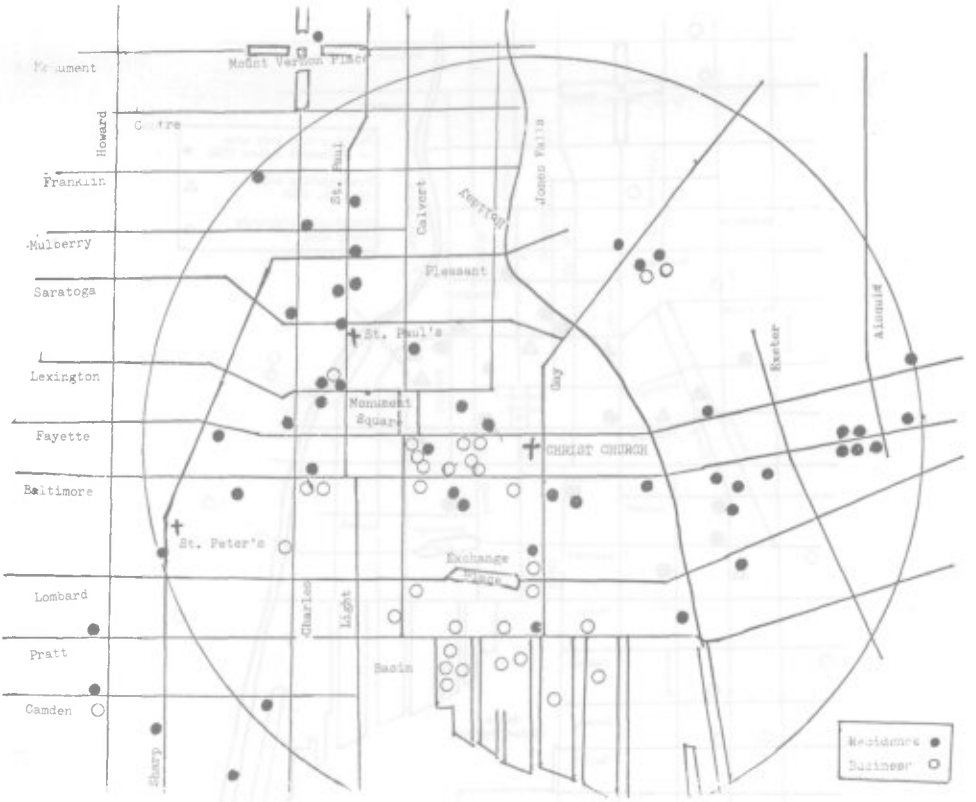
Map 2. Churches of Central Baltimore, 1855.

formation of new outer-city congregations and the decline of the central city as a preferred residential area dealt the churches of the center city a blow that made it difficult, if not impossible, for some of them to survive, or desire to remain, in their old locations.

Until the early 1850s most of the city's most prestigious churches were located within a half mile of Calvert and Baltimore Streets, the generally acknowledged center of town[17] (Map 2). Usually but not invariably the "first church" of their denomination, they were the city's wealthiest congregations and the leaders of their denominations. Their locations were desirable and prestigious, as well as convenient to the homes of their leading members. Beginning in the 1840s, however, many of the members who had sustained them moved from their homes in the center-city to new neighborhoods to the north, northwest, and western parts of the city.[18] This movement coincided with the growing commer-

17. *Stranger's Guide*, 1852, p. 12.

18. The addresses of members, pewholders, or officers of several churches were plotted for various years between 1830 to 1867. Among them were the Charles Street M. E. Church, Franklin Street Presbyterian Church, and Christ, St. Peter's, Emmanuel, and Grace Episcopal Churches.



Map 3. Pewholders, Christ Episcopal Church, 1838.
Christ Church, *Vestry Records*, May 9, 1838, on deposit in Maryland Historical Society; *Matchett's Baltimore Director, for 1837–8* (Baltimore, 1837).

cialization of the central city, which was rapidly becoming a central business district as entrepreneurs demolished blocks of old buildings to erect warehouses and business blocks, and as "the din and confusion of business, the noise of carts and drays, the shaking and jostling of loaded wagons and vehicles, [and] the rattling of omnibuses" made the area undesirable for those who could afford to live elsewhere.[19]

Ideally, the church should be in the center of the social parish. However, as their members moved to newer neighborhoods, and as the city divided into predominantly residential and predominantly commercial areas, the center-city churches found themselves outside the boundaries of their members' social parish. In the 1830s pewholders of Christ Episcopal Church both lived and worked in the neighborhood of the church, (Map 3) but by 1852 many of them worked but no longer lived in the area of the church[20] (Map 4). The old church

19. *Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools*, 1842, p. 93, 1856, pp. 12–13, 38, 1859, p. 18; *Sun*, March 24, 1853; *True Union*, January 17, 1856, January 29, 1856; Boyd's *Baltimore City Directory*, 1858, p. xiii.
20. All but one of the subscribers to Emmanuel Episcopal Church were members of Christ Church (*P. E. Journal*, 1853, p. 47).

Map 4. Subscribers to Emmanuel Episcopal Church, 1852.
"Petition for leave to organize a new Congregation in Baltimore," Subject File (Christ Church), Maryland Diocesan Archives; *Matchett's Baltimore Director, for 1851* (Baltimore, 1851).

had lost its geographic centrality in their lives—the "parish" had moved away from the church. The church's environs were part of the commerical world—for the men a place to work; for the women a place to shop—but not part of their domestic lives. The old church's location was not only geographically inconvenient and physically unattractive, but was in an area deemed inappropriate for an institution so closely associated with family life.

The consequence of this separation, and the inconvenience of walking long distances to worship, was the formation of congregation after congregation on the urban periphery in the 1840s and 1850s. This process was urged on by the clergy, including pastors of central-city churches, who preached the duty of building new places of worship in the new sections of the city.[21] Many of these new

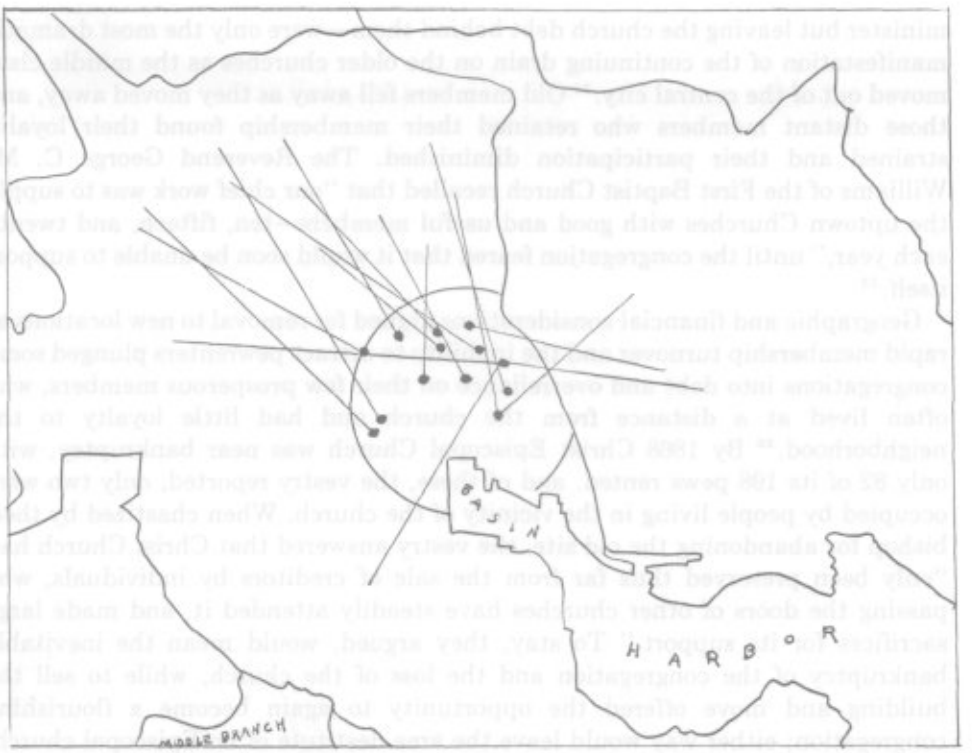
21. John C. Backus, *A Discourse Delivered at the Opening of the Westminster Presbyterian Church* (Baltimore, 1852); *P. E. Journal*, 1857, p. 105, 106, 108, 1858, p. 25; *True Union*, March 31, 1853, November 24, 1853; *Lutheran Observer*, March 6, 1840.

Map 5. Selected "Mother"-"Daughter" Churches, 1840–1854.
Outline of urban development based on Fielding Lucas, *Plan of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1845) and J. W. Woods, *Map of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1860).

congregations were considered "daughter" churches established by "colonies" which "went out" from the central-city "mother" churches (Map 5).

It was evident to some center-city congregational leaders as early as the first half of the 1850s that their congregations were becoming increasingly inconvenient to many members (who were often the congregations' wealthiest members) and that their locations were increasingly undesirable. They also saw the attraction of the newer outer-city congregations, and some were quite aware that new fashions in church architecture and new standards of congregational comfort made their churches even less attractive.[22] They responded by selling their churches—undesirable for worship but now valuable downtown real estate—and building new edifices in areas of the city more convenient to their present and potential members. The exodus from "downtown" which included churches of

22. Baltimore City Station, *Trustees Minutes*, November 2, 1849, Lovely Lane Museum; George C. M. Roberts, *Centenary Pictorial Album . . . of Methodism in the State of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1866), p. 77; Charles Street M. E. Church, *Trustees Minutes*, July 6, 1869; *P. E. Journal*, 1858, p. 34; Christ Episcopal Church, *Vestry Records*, December 10, 1861, Maryland Historical Society; John C. Backus, *An Historical Discourse on Taking Leave of the Old Church Edifice of the First Presbyterian Congregation* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 85; *True Union*, November 6, 1856; Elias Heiner, *Reminiscences of a Quarter Century* (Baltimore, 1861), pp. 20–21; Second Presbyterian Church, *Records*, Vol. III, June 27, 1849, Second Presbyterian Church.



Map 6. Movement of Churches from Central Baltimore, 1859–1877.
Outline of urban development based on J. W. Woods, *Map of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1876). r = approx. six blocks from intersection of Baltimore and Calvert streets.

both high and low status, began in the late 1850s and was largely concluded by the mid 1870s. Between 1858 and 1870 eleven of the Protestant churches in the downtown area (roughly between Pratt and Pleasant streets, Jones Falls and Sharp Street) left the area or disbanded, while more followed in the 1870s. Many congregations that moved in the late 1860s and even the 1870s had been considering the move for years and would have done so sooner had they been able to afford to do so.[23] Most congregations moved to the north or northwestern parts of the city, although two congregations sold their property and built not one but two and three churches to serve their widely dispersed membership (Map 6).

Some congregations left eagerly and others reluctantly. Even when there was a genuine desire to stay and serve a neighborhood population, the imperatives of economics often dictated a move to a new neighborhood. The near-crippling exoduses that some congregations suffered when their distant members withdrew in a body to form new congregations—often taking with them the congregation's

23. Smith, *Eighty Years*, pp. 89–90; Joseph T. Smith, *Central Presbyterian Church* (Baltimore, 1876), pp. 9–10, 15–16; Christ Episcopal Church, *Vestry Records*, January 27, 1862, January 5, 1863; St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Vestry to Pew Owners and Renters, [1860] No. 74, Miscellaneous Circulars Box, William Rollinson Whittingham Papers, MDA; George D. Cummins to William Rollinson Whittingham, January 21, 1861, MDA.

minister but leaving the church debt behind them—were only the most dramatic manifestation of the continuing drain on the older churches as the middle class moved out of the central city.[24] Old members fell away as they moved away, and those distant members who retained their membership found their loyalty strained and their participation diminished. The Reverend George C. M. Williams of the First Baptist Church recalled that "our chief work was to supply the uptown Churches with good and useful members—ten, fifteen, and twenty each year," until the congregation feared that it would soon be unable to support itself.[25]

Geographic and financial considerations argued for removal to new locations as rapid membership turnover and the inability to attract pewrenters plunged some congregations into debt and overreliance on their few prosperous members, who often lived at a distance from the church and had little loyalty to the neighborhood.[26] By 1868 Christ Episcopal Church was near bankruptcy, with only 82 of its 198 pews rented, and of these, the vestry reported, only two were occupied by people living in the vicinity of the church. When chastized by their bishop for abandoning the old site, the vestry answered that Christ Church had "only been preserved thus far from the sale of creditors by individuals, who passing the doors of other churches have steadily attended it, and made large sacrifices for its support." To stay, they argued, would mean the inevitable bankruptcy of the congregation and the loss of the church, while to sell the building and move offered the opportunity to again become a flourishing congregation; either way would leave the area destitute of an Episcopal church, but only by moving could the congregation possibly survive.[27]

Although membership drift, commercial encroachment, and concern over financial solvency were an ever-present worry to the trustees of central-city congregations, the eventual migration of several congregations also seems to have been motivated by a desire to maintain their prestige—to remain the type of congregation their leading members wanted to be associated with. The challenge of urban change and congregational social expectations was best expressed, perhaps, by the trustees of the Charles Street Methodist Episcopal Church in 1869, when they decided that despite "a strong and harmonious membership, unsurpassed social position, and ample financial ability," the congregation could not "retain its prestige and remain" in their 25-year old church at Charles and

24. The "colony" from Christ Episcopal Church which founded Emmanuel Episcopal Church included the entire vestry, the rector, and about half the pewholders. They not only left a church debt but also a building in need of major repairs. Finance Committee, "To the Members of Christ Church" (circular), June 1, 1855, in Christ Church, *Vestry Records*, Vol. II, frontis.; *P. E. Journal*, 1855, p. 63.

25. J. W. M. Williams, *Reminiscences of a Pastorate of Thirty-Three Years* (Baltimore, 1884), pp. 24–25.

26. *P. E. Journal*, 1857, p. 42, 1858, p. 34, 1859, p. 55; Christ Episcopal Church, *Vestry Records*, October 25, 1858, January 2, 1860, September 24, 1860, January 28, 1861; Louis P. Balch, *Pastoral Letter*, April, 1858, pp. 3, 5–6, No. 3, Pamphlet Vol. IX, MDA.

27. William Rollinson Whittingham to the Rector, Wardens, and Vestrymen of Christ Church, May 14, 1870, and James Hall (for the vestry) to Whittingham, June 15, 1870, copied in Christ Church, *Vestry Records*, Vol. II, pp. 393–405. Whittingham's letter of remonstrance and the vestry's defense of their actions in building a new church and seeking to sell the old one forms a moving and succinct account of the apparent dilemma between Christian service and institutional survival.

Table 2

Congregations in Central Baltimore, 1856 and 1880

1856	1880
White, English-language Protestant	
St. Paul's Episcopal	St. Paul's Episcopal
Christ Church Episcopal	
St. Peter's Episcopal	
	Church of the Messiah (a)
First Presbyterian (b)	
Fifth Presbyterian	
Associate Reformed (Independent) Presbyterian	Associate Reformed (Independent) Presbyterian
Associate Reformated Presbyterian	
Central Presbyterian	
Light Street Methodist Episcopal	First Methodist Episcopal (c)
Charles Street Methodist Episcopal	
St. John's Methodist Protestant	St. John's Methodist Protestant
First Baptist	
Universalist	
Friends (Orthodox)	
North Street Christian	
First German Reformed	
	First Spiritualist (d)
German-language Protestant	
Zion (Independent) Lutheran	Zion (Independent) Lutheran
St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran	
St. Johannes' German Reformed	St. Johannes' German Reformed
Black	
Bethel African Methodist Episcopal	Bethel African Methodist Episcopal
Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal	Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal
St. James' Episcopal	St. James' Episcopal
Saratoga Street Baptist	
	Union Baptist (e)
	St. Francis Xavier Roman Catholic (f)
Jewish	
Oheb Shalom (d)	Oheb Shalom (g)

(a) In former Christ Episcopal Church
(b) Had already decided to move
(c) Renamed Light Street Church in former Charles Street M.E. Church
(d) In rented hall
(e) In former North Street Christian Church
(f) In former Universalist Church
(g) In former Fifth Presbyterian Church

Fayette streets when "new and elegant churches" were rising in the better residential neighborhoods.[28] They instructed the site-selection committee to limit their search to the prestigious area within a few blocks of the Washington Monument, and in 1872 moved into their new Mount Vernon Place Gothic Revival edifice.[29]

The central city retained churches after the congregational exodus abated, but

28. Charles Street M. E. Church, *Trustees Minutes*, committee report after minutes for June 7, 1869. The trustees' concern with prestige was part of their consideration of long-term urban changes which could jeopardize the congregation's future.
29. *Ibid.*, September 27, 1869, November 29, 1869; H. E. Shepherd, ed., *History of Baltimore* (n. p., 1898), p. 378. The congregation changed its name to the Mount Vernon Place M. E. Church.

with few exceptions they were congregations that served low-status groups —primarily German Protestants, Jews, and blacks. Those remaining congregations which drew from the native Protestant population had lost the denominational leadership they once held (Table 2). Central areas still held prestige, but the definition of "central" had shifted from the old center of the city to residential areas outside the physical center of the city. Mount Vernon Place replaced Monument Square as the center of prestige, and congregations that wished prestige and financial security had to "go where thriving building speculations promise[d] high pew-rent rolls, or where the aggregation of genteel society . . . massed together pew-holders of sufficient pretensions to suit their taste."

Public Education and Black Protest in Baltimore 1865–1900

Bettye C. Thomas

PRIOR TO 1867, THE EDUCATION OF BLACK CHILDREN IN BALTIMORE WAS CONFINED to private schools or to free schools organized by the American Missionary Association and the Association for the Improvement of Colored People. The instruction of blacks, free or slave, was not prohibited in Baltimore or elsewhere in Maryland before the Civil War. The earliest known schools for blacks were provided by the churches. Males and females, young and old attended the Sabbath schools operated by the churches and the free day schools operated by individual free black persons. Most of the schools were co-educational; however, males and females were rigidly segregated within the schools as in the churches. In the absence of public schools, these institutions performed an invaluable service for the Baltimore black community.[1]

By 1865 the tradition of black protest was well established in Baltimore. The Baltimore free black community, the largest of its kind in the United States, was neither complacent nor apathetic. Free blacks in the city participated in discussions and movements which focused upon the major issues confronting blacks and whites in America. Men like Hezekiah Grice, William Watkins, Leven Lee, Samuel Chase, and Daniel Coker achieved national recognition and prominence because of their eloquence, intellect, and boldness in speaking out against slavery. They and a number of other free blacks in Baltimore were identified with the colonization debates and participated in the early nineteenth century convention movement among blacks in America. Blacks in Baltimore rallied support for the abolitionist cause and supported the functioning of underground railroad stations in Baltimore. During the 1850s they successfully garnered the black and white support necessary for protesting and defeating the hated Curtis Jacobs Bill that aimed at the re-enslavement of free blacks and the

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1. James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634–1860* (New York, 1921), pp. 198–208; "African Academy," *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 5, 1797 (A copy of the original newspaper was published by the Baltimore *News American* on September 24, 1972. The African Academy is the earliest documentable school established for black people in Baltimore); "The Condition of the Coloured Population of the City of Baltimore," *The Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine*, (April 1838); 174–75.

confiscation of black property.[2] In 1849 a group composed of eighty-seven free blacks met to outline strategy to launch a protest against the municipal government for its failure to appropriate funds for the purpose of establishing public schools for black children. They scolded city officials for giving little consideration to the fact that Baltimore blacks paid their proportionate share of taxes, but received very few services and almost no recognition in return.[3]

In 1865 the two major concerns of the black community were suffrage and education. Suffrage was extended to Maryland blacks as a result of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. Public schools had been established in Baltimore as early as 1829. Beginning with three primary schools, the city gradually added two other levels, the grammar and high school. By 1866 there were eighty-eight schools and 360 teachers, all employed for the benefit of white students. The city also sponsored five night schools for white students.[4] In the absence of public schools, private institutions continued to serve the black community. The majority of the city's private black schools were operated in the Methodist and Baptist churches. The Oblate Sisters of Providence, the first religious community of black nuns in the United States, was widely known for its private girls school, Saint Francis Academy. Between 1865 and 1867 the most productive and largest private educational ventures were those sponsored by the American Missionary Association and the Association for the Improvement of Colored People. The American Missionary Association established four schools, staffed with six teachers and attended by 400 students. The Baltimore Moral Improvement Association, which opened its first free day school on January 9, 1865, ten months later reported sixteen schools occupying seven buildings and employing sixteen teachers. Both of these groups petitioned the city council for financial support. Most of these schools were overcrowded and the associations found it difficult to rent or lease buildings for educational purposes. One official stated that "the only available rooms are the Churches of the Colored People." The Moral Improvement Association's schools showed a total day and night enrollment of 1,957 even though the average daily attendance was approximately 1,200. The Association spent $8,877.64 during the first year of its existence.[5]

2. Howard Bell, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Convention, 1830–1864* (New York, 1969), lacks pagination. For information pertaining to Baltimoreans who participated in the Negro Convention movement, see names appended to the Proceedings: "The First Colored Convention," *The Anglo African Magazine* (October, 1859); Penelope Campbell, *Maryland in Africa* (Chicago, 1971); "Bethel Church, 160 Years Old, A Monument to Ideals," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, December 28, 1946; Reverend George Freeman Bragg, *Men of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 18.

3. "Petition of Elias Williams and Other Persons of Color Asking Aid for the Establishment of Colored Public Schools, 1850, Doc. 456 (Baltimore City Archives).

4. *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1865* (Baltimore, 1866), pp. 3–4.

5. John T. Gilliard, *Colored Catholics in the United States* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 120–21; Grace Sherwood, *The Oblates Hundred and One Years* (New York, 1931), pp. 10–30; "First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People," November 6, 1865, pp. 1–31, ("The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People," Maryland Historical Society). "Application of Nathaniel Noyes for $1,000 for Colored Schools," May 29, 1865, Doc. 196 (Baltimore City Archives); "Report of the Joint Standing Committee on Education on the Petition of the President and Managers of the Baltimore Association of the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People," April 27, 1865, Doc. 605 (Baltimore City Archives).

Despite the existence of private schools, black leaders such as Isaac Myers felt the city had a responsibility to provide public education for blacks and thus continued to exert pressure upon the municipal government to do so. The issue of black public schools was not new to the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners. In response to the protest of free blacks in 1849, the Reverend Benjamin Kurtz, a commissioner, introduced a resolution before the Board requesting "That a committee be appointed whose duty it shall be to inquire into the legality and propriety of taking measures to erect a public school for the benefit of colored children in the City of Baltimore." The resolution was tabled. Dr. Kurtz also suggested that a recommendation relating to the instruction of black children be included in the annual report of the Board of School Commissioners, but the proposal was voted down ten to five.[6] The issue was not raised again until after the Civil War. In 1865, in response to the growing community pressure, the Board of School Commissioners through its Joint Standing Committee on Education investigated the "propriety of making judicious provision, for educating the colored children, of the city."[7] Within five months of this report, the education committee presented a resolution to the second branch council proposing "that the mayor and city council agree to appropriate $10,000 for the purpose of assisting the various groups in the education and improvement of the Colored people of Baltimore." The Committee concluded that this was "a cheap mode of saving a people from crime, pauperism, and helplessness and would make them moral, wise, and efficient."[8]

The city council was slow in responding to these and other proposals and requests to provide public education for black children. After two years of continuous debate, the council passed an ordinance supporting the education of black children. The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People agreed to turn over its schools to the mayor and city council.[9] Some of the association's schools were viewed as ill-suited for the education of children, thus the board refurbished some and relocated others. As a result of the board's efforts, thirteen primary schools were established for black children. These schools opened in the fall of 1867 mainly under the control of white teachers, and by late 1868 were taught exclusively by white teachers. No grammar or high schools were established for blacks because it was thought "neither advisable nor practicable to provide such grades or schools for this class of people as are in use by the children of white parents."[10] These primary schools

6. "Proceedings of the Commissioners of Public Schools," MSS, June 12, 1849, IV, lacks pagination (Baltimore City Archives).
7. "Report of Joint Standing Committee on Education with a Resolution, January 12, 1865, Doc. 684 (Baltimore City Archives).
8. "Report of the Joint Standing Committee on Education on the Petition of the President and Managers of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People," April 27, 1865.
9. "Report of the Joint Standing [Committee] on Education in Relation to the Education of Children of Colored Parents with an Ordinance," June 4, 1867, Doc. 1254 (Baltimore City Archives); *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1869* (Baltimore, 1868), pp. 69–76; *Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1867* (Baltimore, 1868), No. 45.
10. *Fortieth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools* (Baltimore, 1869), pp. 5, 44.

were subject to the same regulations regarding books, curriculum, and length of school term (ten months) as white schools.[11]

From 1865 through 1900 the education of black children remained the focal point of black protest in Baltimore. The establishment of public schools for blacks was viewed as a positive achievement; however, the removal of black teachers was a serious setback for the black community. Black teachers formerly employed by the Moral Improvement Association were simply dismissed. Since the school board pursued such action expecting criticism from blacks, it moved to insure the support of white teachers by stipulating that white teachers in black schools would receive salary equal to that of white teachers in white schools.[12]

The black community petitioned the council to hire competent black teachers, to retain those already engaged in teaching black children, and to add grammar and high schools. All such petitions were ordered tabled for future consideration. The city's two leading white journals, the Baltimore *American* (Republican) and the Baltimore *Sun* (Democratic), agreed that it was wrong to exclude competent black teachers from teaching in black schools and that the educational progress of blacks would be hampered by limiting them to primary grades.[13] Continuous pressure from blacks and whites led to the opening of black grammar schools on September 1, 1869. The grammar schools and primary schools occupied the same frame buildings, and the courses offered were similar to those of the white grammar schools. Within four months the board reported that the black "scholars had shown an acquaintance very creditable," and that this was especially true of "orthography, geography and reading." However, the board played down the request for black teachers by stating that "there exists a notion that the schools are not in the hands of those who will do the best for them. This idea is encouraged by a few designing persons who do not wish the Colored people to patronize the Public Schools."[14]

In 1870 the Committee for "Colored Schools" reported that none of the black petitions had actually attacked the competency of white teachers in the public schools and that white teachers were often employed to work in the private black schools; therefore, they were not asking for the removal of whites, but the inclusion of blacks. The committee suggested that when additional schools were organized for blacks, black teachers should be hired provided they passed the prescribed examination. Despite this report, the schools remained under the supervision of white teachers through the 1870s and '80s. Prospective black teachers by 1880 had filed numerous applications and several had passed the school board examination.[15]

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11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. "Meeting of the School Board," Baltimore *Sun*, June 17, 1868; Also see the Baltimore *Sun*, April 9, July 2, November 25, 1868; Baltimore *American*, June 25, 1868, February 16, 1869.
14. *Forty-First Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, For the Year ending December 31, 1869* (Baltimore, 1870), pp. 22–23, xxiv, xxv.
15. "The Colored Public Schools," Baltimore *Sun*, April 13, 1870; *Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1873* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. xxvi, 24; *Fifty Second Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1880* (Baltimore, 1881), pp. xxx, xxi; Jeffrey Brackett, "Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland Since the War," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 7, 8, 9 (July, August, September, 1890): 87.

By 1885 black leaders were beginning to feel discouraged. After eighteen years of consistent protest, not one black had been hired to teach, and there was no apparent indication that any would ever be. Between 1868 and 1885 a number of black protest groups were organized to fight for black equality on all fronts. Few of these organizations were able to survive beyond a two-year period, and thus they failed to be effective in bringing about the desired change. The Reverend Harvey Johnson of Union Baptist Church believed that what was lacking in the Baltimore black community was an effective organization to fight for black equality by instituting a series of court suits to challenge existing laws as defined in the U.S. Constitution, particularly the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments. He held that new law was not necessary, just an enforcement of existing law.

On June 22, 1885, Harvey Johnson and five other influential Baptist ministers organized the Brotherhood of Liberty. During the fall of 1885 the brotherhood held its first public meeting with Frederick Douglass as the main speaker. Among the various topics considered during the three-day meeting was the question of black teachers in public schools and equal facilities for black children. The brotherhood established a Committee on Education that was to be responsible for pressuring the school board, the mayor, and the city council into recognizing its legitimate demands for teachers and better schools. This committee was instrumental in establishing the Maryland Educational Union which was directed mainly by the brotherhood. The union held a public meeting on May 3, 1887, during which time the black community was asked to approve of a series of resolutions. The record of the mayor and city council was reviewed with respect to black education, and a resolution was passed pledging the continued agitation of the black community until equal school facilities existed and until black teachers were employed. By 1887 the union had gained the ear of three white councilmen who worked to secure the required number of votes necessary for passage of an ordinance which would possibly lead to the hiring of black teachers. The day following the Maryland Educational Union's meeting, the mayor and council passed an ordinance authorizing the board to employ black teachers. The ordinance provided that the Board of School Commissioners be authorized to appoint qualified black teachers to black schools established after that date. It failed to make provisions for the gradual introduction of black teachers into the schools already under the control of white faculties, and stipulated that white teachers were not to be employed in any school where there were black teachers. Thus, the board insured the segregation of public school facilities.[16]

The council felt that this ordinance represented a great compromise on their part and that for the time being it would stifle the protests of black leaders. No other legislation of substance regarding the hiring of black teachers would be forthcoming until the mid nineties. Meanwhile black leaders continued to press for black teachers, additional and improved school facilities, and so forth. The council was aware of preparations being made by the Brotherhood of Liberty to take the issue to court if the council failed to respond. The courts had responded

16. Azzie Briscoe Koger, *Dr. Harvey Johnson: Minister and Pioneer Civic Leader* (Baltimore; 1957), p. 13.

positively to the efforts of the brotherhood to eliminate the "black laws," had opened the bar to black lawyers, and might have given support to the appointment of licensed black teachers as well as other educational concerns.[17] The Brotherhood of Liberty and the Educational Union worked with other local organizations such as the Colored Advisory Committee, the Maryland Protective League, and the Central Colored Prohibition Club, in sponsoring meetings to raise funds and drafting petitions to the city council and school board.[18] Everett J. Waring, an attorney for the brotherhood and the editor of a local black newspaper, the *Star*, told black parents, professionals, businessmen, artisans, and laborers that they must "storm the fortress." The community responded with letters of protest directed to city authorities. The final challenge preceding the passage of the ordinance was issued by the Reverend T. R. Wilkins of the Second Christian Church, who advocated that black children be sent into white schools and when they were refused admission, then the city should be challenged in the courts.[19]

Elementary schools for blacks by 1887 were extremely overcrowded and poorly equipped. The educational union visited the school board and presented their plea for a school in northwest Baltimore. Board members declared that there were not enough black children in the area to justify the undertaking. The Brotherhood of Liberty devised a strategy which would indicate the number of interested children in the region. Sharon Baptist Church was located in the disputed area and was quickly converted into a school patronized by 300 children who were taught by three teachers. The point had been made, and the board responded by purchasing a lot at Carrollton and Riggs avenue.[20] The proposed sight was located in a predominantly white section. White residents became very concerned that the city would consider building a school for blacks in a "built up neighborhood of costly houses." They feared the erection of a black school would "depreciate the value" of their homes and property and "render it impossible" for them to "sell or rent it except at ruinous rates." The protesters made it clear that the objection was not based upon any "race prejudice, or political feeling."[21] Nothing ever came of this protest and the city proceeded to erect Colored Primary No. 9 which was opened in 1889 with twelve black teachers. This was the first school to employ black teachers.[22]

In the period from 1867 to 1900 the number of black schools increased from ten to twenty-seven and the enrollment grew from 901 to 9,383.[23] Advances were also

17. "Colored School Teachers," Baltimore *Sun*, May 4, 1887; *Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1887–1888*, No. 64.
18. Baltimore American, October 23, 1885; Brackett, "Notes on the Progress of the Colored People," pp. 88–89; Koger, *Dr. Harvey Johnson*, pp. 13–14.
19. *New York Freeman*, March 12, 1887; Baltimore *Sun*, February 16, 1887.
20. *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1888* (Baltimore, 1889). p. xxv; *Sixty-First Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1889* (Baltimore, 1890), p. xxxv; *Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1890* (Baltimore, 1891), p. xliv.
21. "Petition and Protest Against Building School at Carrolton Avenue," October 23, 1888, Doc. 504, (Baltimore City Archives).
22. *Sixtieth Annual Report*.
23. The number of schools and enrollment of pupils from 1867 to 1900 represents a compilation of data found in school board reports for the stated period.

made in the scope of the schools. During these years the black schools progressed from primary to grammar to high school. Prior to 1873, the schools were unclassified. However, in that year a separate grammar school was established at Saratoga Street near Charles. In 1881 the board considered establishing a high school for blacks, and in 1882 a "Colored High School" with a two-year program was housed with the "Colored Grammar School" in the old City Hall at Holliday Street near Lexington. In 1888 the Colored High and Grammar School moved to a new building on Saratoga Street. On June 8, 1889, the city council passed an ordinance which stated that "testimonials [were] to be conferred upon the pupils of the Colored High Schools." In effect, graduates of the high school were given equal recognition with white students as being qualified to teach.[24] In 1896 the high school was separated from Grammar School No. 1. The high school enrollment increased from eighteen students in 1883 to ninety-three by 1900.[25]

Even though gains had been made by the 1890s in terms of the increased number of schools and pupils and the hiring of black teachers in one school, there were still many unsettling problems. In addition to the continued concern that blacks be hired to teach in all black schools, there were constant complaints about the condition of the buildings used to house the public schools. In 1881 an extensive review was made of all public schools, white and black. The ensuing report noted that many of the buildings were poorly ventilated and often the air was polluted by the odors and gases arising from "draining pits, sinks and stables." Entrances were narrow, doors opened inwardly, and often there was only one way to enter and leave. The average building had few windows and was ill-lighted. These were the general observations. Black schools had these problems in addition to numerous others.[26]

Eleven years later these same complaints were being registered. The fledgling *Afro American* newspaper, in its second issue, carried an article written by W. Ashbie Hawkins, a distinguished black lawyer. Hawkins commented that throughout Maryland extremely poor facilities were provided for the education of black children. He underscored several points, namely: 1) the houses and equipment were a disgrace to an old, established, and fairly wealthy state; 2) school terms were too short for effective work; and 3) the continuation of the belief that "anyone is good enough to teach in a Colored school."[27]

In 1899 Primary School No. 4, located on Biddle Street near Pennsylvania Avenue, was cited as being most unhealthy. City authorities spread manure to dry in the rear of the building. In addition to the manure, a water closet on the

24. *Forty-Fifth Annual Report*, p. xxv; *Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1881* (Baltimore, 1882), p. xxi; MSS Proceedings of the Commissioners of Public Schools, January 31, 1882, XVI, 351 (Baltimore City Archives); *Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of School Commissioners of Public Schools, 1882* (Baltimore, 1883), pp. 19, 75; *Sixtieth Annual Report*, p. xxiv; *Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1888–1889*, No. 94.

25. *Ibid., 1895–1896*, No. 113; *Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1883* (Baltimore, 1884), p. 69; *Seventy-Second Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1900* (Baltimore, 1901), p. 71.

26. "Condition of Schools," Baltimore *Sun*, April 25, 1881. For the general problems of school-building needs, see Andrea R. Andrews, "The Baltimore School Building Program, 1870 to 1900: A Study of Urban Reform," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70(Fall 1975): 260–74.

27. "An Alarming Condition," *Afro-American*, August 20, 1892 (this issue is not on microfilm, but is filed in the *Afro-American* "Morgue").

adjacent property overflowed into the school yard. The resulting stench was almost unbearable. On the first floor of the building the windows afforded no ventilation "save from the air coming from the privy vault" which was nine feet away. According to the Baltimore *Sun*, "the trough used by the boys very frequently" overflowed and allowed "urine to run down the school yard to the street outside." The children walked in this and carried it into the school rooms. These conditions were reported, but often ignored.[28]

The complaints of the black community grew during the 1890s. The school board had not solved the question of black teachers. By 1896 there were 175 white teachers and 35 black teachers in the black schools. All thirty-five black teachers were employed at Colored Primary No. 9. Black community leaders continued to request that black teachers, who passed the required examination and were deemed qualified, be placed in black schools and that whenever a white teacher died or moved to a white school a black teacher be hired. The most sweeping legislation to this effect was proposed by Dr. J. Marcus Cargill, a black Republican, who was elected to the city council in 1895 from the eleventh ward.[29]

The Cargill Ordinance proposed the gradual elimination of white teachers from black schools. According to the original ordinance, all white teachers displaced would have first preference as teachers in the white schools and their names would appear first on the eligibility list. This point was heatedly debated by councilmen. Cargill argued that from 1867 to 1896 the school board had maintained that white and black teachers could not mix in the schools; therefore, in order for a faculty to become black the complete white faculty would have to be removed. This was an essential element in Cargill's strategy to forestall an amendment which proposed to hire black teachers to teach black children only after all positions occupied by a white faculty were completely vacated. Dr. Cargill was defeated by a vote of eighteen to one in his attempt to offer a substitute amendment. The ordinance as passed was not a complete victory for blacks. It would take years to eliminate the white teachers.[30]

Black leaders such as the Reverend William Alexander, the founder and editor of the *Afro American* from 1892 to 1895, the Reverend Harvey Johnson, W. Ashbie Hawkins, and many others were placed in a somewhat ambiguous position. All of their lives they had fought against segregation and discrimination, always stressing integration as the first order of business. However, in this instance they found themselves arguing for Jim Crow legislation mainly because the school board would not permit whites and blacks to teach in the same school.

In 1895 a political revolution occurred, the control of the city and state passed entirely from the Democratic party to the Republican party. The Democrats had been in control since 1867 and were extremely conservative on the issue of black rights. Over 50,000 black voters throughout the state voted the Republican ticket, believing that certain changes would benefit them. But once elevated, the

28. "Unhealthy Schools," Baltimore *Sun*, May 20, 1897.
29. "Schools, Churches Changed Since Turn of the Century," *Afro-American*, September 11, 1937.
30. *Ibid.;* "The White Teachers Win Their Point on the Colored School Ordinance," Baltimore *Sun*, March 24, 1896; *Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1896-1897*, No. 33; *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Public Schools 1907* (Baltimore; 1908), p. 116.

Republicans all but ignored black interests. The Republican-dominated city council amended and altered the Cargill Bill until very little was left of it. The Republican Mayor Alcaeus Hooper signed it into law. Then, under a Republican school board, a policy of evasion and circumlocution was employed for two years before the first practical step was taken to make the legislature effective. Even then, action was taken under pressure from black and white leaders and in anticipation of an upcoming municipal election.[31] In 1898 the East Street School became the first school, after the passage of the Cargill Ordinance, to be turned over to a staff of black teachers.[32]

The election of 1899 returned the Democrats to power. The Democratic party was less reluctant to effect a rapid teacher exchange. The new mayor elect, Thomas G. Hayes, stated unequivocally that his administration would respect the "progressive spirit that demanded efficiency in city government." Hayes appointed progressive Democrats to the school board with specific instructions to supervise a structural and administrative reorganization of the city's school system. One aspect of this reorganization was the rapid replacement of white teachers by black teachers in black schools.[33]

By 1900 there was less antipathy respecting the employment of black teachers. In Baltimore as throughout the nation patterns of segregation were hardening and the city's Democratic-based leadership recognized that complete racial segregation in the schools was just one link in the chain. Besides, it satisfied the black leadership. As long as black teachers were not employed to teach white children, the Democratic leadership could approve of their employment. By 1902 black teachers were hired to teach in over half of the black public schools. Within two years they staffed 75 percent of the schools and by 1907 they were in complete control.[34] After forty years of protest blacks in Baltimore had achieved a goal that would later be challenged in the nation's highest court. Forty-seven years later in the Brown *et al.* v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, case, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional.[35]

One of the major reasons for the persistent protest of black leaders for the employment of black teachers was the issue of economics. Most of the black leaders recognized the importance of public schools in expanding the occupational opportunities available to black people, and in offering employment to a greater number of black graduates. The black leadership and the city's major black publication, the *Afro-American*, continued to underscore the point that white teachers did not have social contact with their pupils and questioned

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31. "Fifty Years in the Colored Schools of Baltimore," *Afro-American*, May 2, 1924.
32. *Ibid.*
33. James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore 1895 to 1911* (Baton Rouge, 1968), p. 99; Bragg, *Men of Maryland*, p. 31.
34. *Seventy-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1902* (Baltimore, 1903), p. 70; *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools* (Baltimore, 1908), p 116.
35. Tellfair B. Barnes, *A Composite Study of the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954 and Related Documents* (Chicago, 1958), pp. 1–40; Oliver Brown, *Argument, Argument: The Oral Argument before the Supreme Court in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, 1952–55* (New York, 1969).

whether they could fully perform their duties as teachers. It was stressed that white teachers could not help black children develop positive self concepts.[36]

In the late 1880s some black spokesmen looked to public education to perform another important economic function, mainly through the establishment of a manual training school or an industrial education program. In 1884 the school board established a very impressive manual training school for white male students, claiming it to be the "first experiment of the kind in this country in connection with public schools."[37] Black spokesmen were concerned that no effort was made to establish an equal facility for black children.

The black community was acutely aware of the diminishing numbers of black artisans and of the fact that, increasingly by the 1880s, certain skills were not being acquired by young blacks. Before the Civil War and for a short period afterwards, blacks had successfully dominated certain skilled trades in the city such as caulking and barbering. The recruitment of European immigrants, the development of exclusionary labor unions, and growing racism were the chief contributors to the elimination of blacks from these skilled trades. Issac Myers in 1869 founded the Colored National Labor Union in an effort to protect the position of skilled black workers by encouraging the development of black trade unions and cooperative black workshops in which blacks could acquire manual skills.[38] The collapse of the CNLU in 1872 left a void which remained unfilled by any developing organization. In effect, black workers were shut out from the skilled trades and were forced to join the laboring gangs. The only institution which provided any type of manual training was Cheltenham, the state reformatory for black males located in Prince George's County. These blacks were taught brickmaking, tailoring, upholstery work, and other trades.[39]

Supporters of a manual training program for black youth established the Mechanical and Industrial Association in 1886. This organization worked closely with the Brotherhood of Liberty. The association held meetings, petitioned the school board, and solicited funds for support of a private manual school in the event the school board failed to respond to the request for a public institution.[40] The Board of School Commissioners in December 1888 adopted a resolution favorable to the establishment of a manual training school for black children.[41] Within two months the city council passed an ordinance which gave the school board full authority to proceed in establishing the manual training institution.[42] After several years of council debates on appropriations, the Colored Manual

36. "Our Public Schools," *Afro-American*, October 19, 1895.
37. *Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools* (Baltimore, 1884), p. xxxvi.
38. Baltimore *American*, July 27, 1869; *The Washington New Era*, January 13, February 17, 1870.
39. Brackett, "Notes on the Progress of the Colored People," p. 36; Baltimore *Sun*, December 30, 1871.
40. Baltimore *Sun*, April 12, July 19, 1886; April 5, November 28, 1888; March 9, 1892.
41. Letter from O. B. Zantzingen, Chairman of Committee on Conference, the Commissioners of Public Schools, to the Mayor and City Council, January 15, 1889, Doc. 48 (Baltimore City Archives).
42. "An Ordinance to Authorize the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools of Baltimore City, to Establish a School for the Manual Training of Coloured Boys, the Same in Facilities and Advantages as the Balto Manual Training School," January 28, 1889, Doc. 1268 (Baltimore City Archives).

Training School was opened on September 5, 1892, with a staff of five and an enrollment of 105 pupils.[43] In 1897 the name was changed to the Colored Polytechnic Institute.[44] The course of study of both the white Baltimore Polytechnic Institute and the Colored Polytechnic Institute covered three years and was patterned after the usual high school course with the exception that the required high school study of ancient languages was eliminated and replaced by instruction in drawing and the care and use of tools. Courses were offered in tool utilization, carpentry, wood carving, pattern making, printing, moulding, forging, soldering, vise and machine shopwork, and the care and management of steam engines and boilers. These courses were supplemented by studies in history, mathematics, English, and civics.[45]

There were other advantages sought by black leaders who worked unceasingly to assure equal public educational opportunities for their children. Yet essentially the acquiring of public schools, the hiring of black teachers, the securing of additional school facilities, and the question of industrial education were the main themes of protest and the major avenues of struggle. Until the issues were settled, black religious groups continued to offer courses in church basements, meeting halls, and private homes. The black community in Baltimore, like its counterparts elsewhere in the nation, believed firmly throughout the period that education would lead to the achievement of first class citizenship, and for that reason equal access to schools taught by blacks was a zealously pursued goal.

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43. *Sixty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Public Schools, 1893* (Baltimore, 1894), p. 233.
44. *Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore 1896-1897*, No. 33; *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Public Schools, 1897* (Baltimore, 1898), p. 191.
45. Robert B. Davids, "A Comparative Study of White and Negro Education in Maryland," (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1936), pp. 44–45; *Seventy-First Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools, 1899* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 124, 137.

The Racial and Ethnic Make-up of Baltimore Neighborhoods, 1850–70

JOSEPH GARONZIK

THE MIDDLE DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY MARKED DRAMATIC changes in the city of Baltimore. The city's importance as an urban microcosm of sectional strife is a familiar story. In this era Baltimore varyingly served as a center for the domestic slave trade and the colonization of free blacks to Africa; as the scene where Federal troops first were fired upon as well as the largest enlistment center for black Yankee regiments; as the arena wherein Stephen Douglass's nomination was confirmed and the national Democratic party was shattered, along with Abraham Lincoln's renomination four years later.

Baltimore's identification with sectional politics has heretofore obscured its relationship to the general urbanization of America and its internal patterns of growth. While war-related declines occurred in the city's foreign trade and the southern supply trade, the city's economy and demography had a vitality and development all their own. The most significant changes in Baltimore's economy and population and the combined effects upon its spatial patterns from 1850 to 1870 are the subject of this paper.[1]

During the first century of its history, the city's foreign trade elevated Baltimore to national importance among American cities. By 1810 Baltimore's population of over 46,500 made it America's third largest municipality. Its economic nexus was foreign commerce, especially its exports of tobacco, wheat, and flour. This latter trade, largest among all American cities before 1827, sustained a host of other operations such as the import of Latin American sugar, coffee, and copper and the related industries of sugar and copper refining, as well as shipping. This trade also nurtured the hopes of merchants and city boosters that Baltimore would expand its hinterland eventually to overtake New York and Philadelphia and become the largest and wealthiest American city.[2]

The next fifty years saw Baltimore grow not only in absolute terms, but also as a regional commercial center with limited manufacturing. The introduction of

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1. For a more detailed account of these developments see Joseph Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850–1870" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1974), pp. 7–35.

2. George E. Waring, Jr., *Report of the Social Statistics of Cities* (New York, 1970), 2:5–8; Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Baltimore, its History and its People*, 2 vols. (New York, 1912), 1: 19–20, 44, 52; George Rogers Taylor, "American Urban Growth Preceding the Railway Age," *Journal of Economic History*, 27 (September, 1967): 311; Tench Coxe, *Aggregate Amount of Each Description of Persons Within the United States . . . in the Year 1810* (Washington, 1811), p. 53. Baltimore had already surpassed the town of Boston in size by 1800: Boston, 24,937; Baltimore, 26,514.

the railroad to American transportation by some of Baltimore's daring merchants protected and enlarged the city's mercantile position during the 1830s and '40s. Reaching all the way to St. Louis in 1860, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad contributed to a 450 percent increase in flour inspections and diversification of domestic imports. Similarly, from 1810 to 1870 her population increased almost six-fold. But the railroad could not entirely compensate for New York's advantages of rail and water communications to the interior, closer proximity and regular shipping service to Europe, and greater population and business resources, or for Philadelphia's headstart as a manufacturing center. In 1860 Baltimore still trailed both cities and Boston in the number of patents per capita, the proportion of employees engaged in manufacturing, and the value added from manufacturing.[3]

This lagging industrialization and subsequent efforts to expand the city's western and northern trading territory confirmed Baltimore's regional significance in the national urban network. With the exception of a boom in textile production, Baltimore's economy neither changed nor diversified significantly from 1850 to 1870. Light industrial production performed in shops employing less than ten workers was the rule. The city achieved a five-fold expansion in flour exports during the 1850s, but these failed to support the expensive and ruinous efforts of the B & O to dominate the western trade and to destroy the Pennsylvania Railroad. After Appomatox, rate wars and parallel contruction (implemented by John Garrett and his successors at the head of the line) ultimately tumbled the road into receivership. Meanwhile, more realistic merchants were looking to the South for a heretofore untapped consumer market. Although the jobbing trade to Norfolk, Petersburg, Richmond, and Charleston started earlier, it expanded markedly on the eve of the Civil War and afterward. What resulted was a growing exchange of western wheat, Baltimore clothing, and refined sugar for southern cotton and other raw materials. In fact, Baltimore's growing dependence upon southern consumption of her commerce was the material evidence of the city's political-economic character. Though it possessed in Hezekiah Niles and Daniel Raymond two of the nation's leading spokesmen for protective tariffs, the city's politics consistently favored slavery and low tariffs—both thought to be impediments to industrialization.[4]

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3. Thomas Courtenay Jenkins Whedbee, *The Port of Baltimore in the Making* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 33–35; Joseph Autin Durrenberger, *Turnpikes: A Study of the Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland* (Valdosta, 1931), pp. 65–70; Whedbee, *Port*, pp. 37–39, 41–43; Julius Rubin, *Canal or Railroad: Imitation and Innovation in Response to the Erie Canal in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston* (Philadelphia, 1961), pp. 9, 13, 64, 78; James Weston Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780–1860* (Harrisburg, 1947), pp. 97–98; Alan R. Pred, *The Spatial Dynamics of United States Urban-Industrial Growth, 1800–1914: Interpretive and Theoretical Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp. 20, 106.

4. Whedbee, *Port*, pp. 65–66, 41–43, 76–82; Hall, *Baltimore*, 1: 138, 478, 523, 482; David T. Gilchrist, ed., *The Growth of the Seaport Cities: 1790–1825* (Charlottesville, 1966), pp. 170–173; Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *History and Statistics of the State of Maryland* (Washington, 1852), pp. 52–53; Census Office, *The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of the United States . . . Manufactures, Mining and Fisheries* (Washington, 1871), p. 673; Charles Hirschfeld, "Baltimore, 1870–1900: Studies in Social History," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, 59 (1941): 23. A comparison of published United States Census manufacturing reports indicates that only the industries of artificial flowers, band boxes, baskets, buttons, cages and pyrotechnics failed to survive

Accompanying Baltimore's emergence as a regional commercial metropolis, the middle decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the greatest influx of immigrants. Almost entirely Northern and Central European in origin, and particularly German and Irish, this immigration changed drastically the ethnic make-up of both the established cities of the eastern seaboard and the developing cities west of the Appalachians, and their neighboring regions. But the immigration did not represent the only demographic force changing the urban scene. Slavery, sectionalism, and the Civil War had caused some cities to become racially mixed; in others, black and white rural Americans and foreign immigrants were discovering urban America simultaneously.

While this phenomenon occurred in all urban areas, Baltimore's make-up by 1870 differed significantly from cities to the north, south, and west (Table 1). Compared to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, Baltimore's immigrant population was smaller—in some cases considerably—in both absolute and proportional terms. In the other cities most of the immigrants were Irish and then German, although in Boston Canadians outnumbered Germans. Baltimore certainly had a smaller immigrant population than its northern rivals, and its immigrants were mainly of German stock. Baltimore also had more blacks than any northern city. Before 1870 Baltimore's black population was the largest in total numbers of any city in the United States.[5]

The picture is different when Baltimore is compared to its sister cities to the south. Its immigrant population towered over those of Washington, D.C., Richmond, and Charleston in total numbers and in proportion. The anomaly of the Germanic influence also distinguished her from southeastern cities as it had from northeastern ones. On the other hand, the size of her black population was less striking. In 1860 Baltimore among American cities had the largest free black and total black populations, but in proportion trailed the smaller municipalities of Charleston, Richmond, and Washington. By 1870 Washington was challenging Baltimore in total blacks, while all three southern seaboard cities had developed even larger proportions of black population than Baltimore.

Baltimore presented a still different profile when contrasted with western metropolises. Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati had the largest proportions of foreign population of all major American cities, including Baltimore, in 1860. Yet Baltimore, as a city with such a large German component, resembled the western cities more than the seaboard ones. Western cities were generally more varied in foreign composition than eastern ones, embracing larger percentages of other immigrant groups and migrating native-born Americans. For example, Cincinnati and New Orleans had notable Italian populations. Both cities and St. Louis had more southern Americans than Boston, New York or Philadelphia, while St. Louis and Chicago housed more northern natives than Baltimore in 1870.[6]

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from 1850 to 1870. And in 1870 only the manufacture of sulfuric acid, smelted copper—as opposed to other forms of copper-roofing materials—and cotton goods had materialized during the generation.

5. J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the U.S. . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, 1854), Appendix Tables I–III; Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860*, pp. 453, 523, 589, 608–15; Census Office, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, 1871), pp. 380–391.

6. Most of Boston's non-German, British, and French immigrants were Canadian. Otherwise, only New York rivaled the western cities in their proportional make up of minority European ethnic

TABLE 1

Population of Selected U.S. Cities by Race and State or National Origin and Percentages, 1870

		Native Whites				Foreign Whites					Blacks	
City	Total Pop.	Same State	New Eng.	Other North	Other South	Ger.	Ire.	Other Br. Is.	France	Other For.	Same State	All Other
Boston	250526	126341	26898	5354	832	5606	56900	7877	615	16607	1276	2220
New York	942292	475354	14668	16204	4327	151203	201999	32558	8240	24824	8762	4317
Philadelphia	674022	416162	6149	41178	4961	50746	96698	26710	2471	7006	12008	9853
Baltimore	267354	151493	1636	9036	9267	35276	15223	2824	428	3612	35156	3402
Washington, D.C.	109199	31930	2952	18526	6630	4131	6948	1552	191	884	10761	24694
Richmond	51038	21889	213	1411	643	1621	1239	460	144	308	22708	402
Charleston	48956	16513	247	627	530	1826	2180	355	97	408	25657	516
New Orleans	191418	78209	1234	1607	7519	15224	14693	2653	8806	6517	36477	13979
St. Louis	310864	121931	4953	38008	11648	59040	32239	6720	2788	11449	12281	9807
Cincinnati	216239	109148	2168	12932	6515	49446	18624	4821	2090	4505	1942	4048
Chicago	298977	87385	10395	49246	3832	52316	39988	14809	1417	35898	606	3085
Boston		.50	.11	.02	.00	.02	.23	.03	.00	.07	.01	.01
New York		.50	.02	.02	.00	.16	.21	.03	.01	.03	.02	.00
Philadelphia		.62	.01	.06	.01	.08	.14	.04	.00	.01	.02	.01
Baltimore		.57	.01	.03	.03	.13	.06	.01	.00	.01	.14	.01
Washington, D.C.		.29	.03	.17	.06	.04	.06	.01	.00	.01	.10	.23
Richmond		.43	.00	.03	.01	.03	.02	.01	.00	.01	.45	.01
Charleston		.34	.01	.01	.01	.04	.04	.01	.00	.01	.46	.01
New Orleans		.41	.01	.03	.04	.08	.08	.01	.05	.03	.19	.06
St. Louis		.32	.02	.12	.04	.19	.10	.02	.01	.04	.08	.06
Cincinnati		.50	.01	.06	.03	.23	.09	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02
Chicago		.29	.03	.16	.01	.17	.13	.05	.00	.12	.01	.03

Source: U.S. Census Office. The Ninth Census (1870). *The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, 1871), 380-391.

Finally, the racial composition of western cities changed dramatically during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Before the Civil War only the black community of New Orleans rivaled the size of Baltimore's black community. After the war the black population of New Orleans far outstripped all American cities, and that of St. Louis also underwent enormous growth. Thus while the war did not lead to a substantial northward migration of freemen, black migration to cities within and across southeastern and southwestern state lines did occur.[7] By 1870 the size of the Baltimore black population, despite its growth, was no longer unique.[8]

Amid the helter-skelter of demographic changes in post-bellum America, Baltimore takes on special significance. Before 1865 Baltimore was the only city of commercial-industrial significance to juxtapose blacks and immigrants in large numbers and significant proportions. To be sure, by 1870 the city's absolute size and rate of population growth would fall behind those of Chicago and St. Louis. Baltimore's relative ethnic-racial mixture had become less diversified than Washington and New Orleans, and scarcely more varied than St. Louis. Baltimore was again becoming a provincial place, but until the process was complete, the population of the city mirrored the demography of urban America.[9]

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groups. Boston also housed more native whites born in other New England states than any other city in 1860 and 1870.

7. The 1870 black populations of Chicago, Cincinnati, and Boston were relatively larger than in 1860 but were still not absolutely large.

8. In terms of having large representations by immigrants and blacks, as well as American natives from out-of-state, Washington, D.C., and New Orleans were America's most diversified cities in 1870.

9. Baltimore provides an interesting test case for a number of urban history monographs. For example, was its urban political development during the Gilded Age more or less typical of cities without large black populations? Did its political behavior exhibit patterns one might classify southern or northern or midwestern? Was Baltimore's famous politico, Isidor Raisin, more like Tweed of New York or Curley of Boston or Cox of Cincinnati or Pendergaast of St. Louis, and why? How did Baltimore's

How did the city's residential communities, its neighborhoods, change in accordance with the gross economic and population changes outlined above? The remainder of this paper will delineate the alterations in the racial-ethnic, occupational, and economic characteristics of Baltimore's twenty wards from 1850 through 1870. Unless specified elsewhere, the following data was drawn from the Population and Manufacturing Schedules of the United States Census Manuscripts for 1850, 1860 and 1870. In each case, the "head of household" served as the unit of measurement for the national or ethnic origin of the population.[10]

With a few exceptions, the ethnic groups of Baltimore lived in small clusters throughout the residential area of the city. Ward breakdowns—such as those commonly used in historical calculations of indices of segregation or dissimilarity—cannot display precisely how physically close to one another households of different ethnicities actually were, but they do at least delimit the areas of concentration to dimensions of ten blocks on a side, the size of most of the wards.

Between 1850 and 1870, native-born Americans saw foreigners move into and outnumber them in neighborhoods throughout the city. Even in the northwestern suburban wards of 11, 19, and 20, wealthy natives were joined by poor blacks and Irish. Conversely, natives were underrepresented only in southeastern ward 2 near Fell's Point. Germans concentrated most in wards 1 and 2, but spread everywhere except in the northern ward 8, near the penitentiary, and wards 11 and 12. Irish clustering was especially noticeable in the peripheral wards 8, 11, 12, and 17, but the Irish were evenly represented everywhere except where Germans clustered most. The British, French, and other foreign households were scattered among the major population groups, although a small Italian concentration and another Polish one were observed in wards 2 and 9 respectively. Blacks lived mainly in alleys—as did the Irish—throughout the city. They were scarcest in the heavily German wards (1, 2), ward 7 near the cemeteries, and the predominantly Irish 8th, but their alleyway concentrations dotted the residential heart of Baltimore. To reiterate, from 1850 to 1870 even where one can produce a continuity of a specific concentration, say the Irish 8th, one must acknowledge similar clusters in widely separated parts of the city, like the Irish 1st and 18th wards, and the existence of other ethnic clusters in the same ward, like native-born Americans in the Irish 8th and Germans in the Irish 1st and both of them in the Irish 18th (Table 2).

Minority groups in mid nineteenth century Baltimore neither lived in exclusive sectors of town nor did they concentrate in the city's center. Proximity to persons of the same ethnicity apparently had little to do with the choice of residence by Baltimore's citizens. A plot of the virtual locations of all households in the 1870

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relationship to the hinterland foster increased provinciality or cosmopolitanism? Why did Baltimore decline as the leading national political convention city after the Civil War?

10. If one assumes that the American-born children of immigrants identified more strongly with the cultural baggage of their parents' homelands, one gets a larger percentage of non-native persons—and households—than from published censuses based solely upon birthplace. That census-takers recognized this point is shown by their development of the category: "foreign white stock," persons born or with at least one parent born abroad. This measurement was first used by U.S. Census enumerators in 1870.

Table 2

Heads of Households by Ethnic and National Origins and Wards, Baltimore, 1870

WARD	ALL NATIVE	2ND GEN. NATIVE	NATIONAL OR ETHNIC ORIGIN GERMAN	IRISH	BRITISH	FRENCH	OTHER FOREIGN	BLACK	TOTAL
1	1226	1045	1513	404	69	12	33	53	3310
2	567	390	1978	198	56	11	105	235	3150
3	1083	935	1025	181	44	4	30	432	2799
4	632	576	596	255	43	4	30	115	1675
5	830	768	621	240	66	5	29	746	2537
6	1362	1271	780	149	59	4	35	442	2831
7	1359	1044	1228	207	72	6	41	152	3065
8	771	644	279	803	60	6	10	133	2062
9	403	326	427	242	37	10	43	262	1426
10	589	583	553	132	34	18	27	365	1718
11	951	887	168	252	45	7	8	519	1950
12	1059	998	91	246	35	3	9	265	1708
13	884	798	465	142	30	7	13	301	1842
14	995	911	512	215	43	7	18	284	2024
15	851	769	679	239	29	10	23	651	2482
16	1303	1225	943	261	51	8	20	660	3241
17	957	794	745	277	43	5	13	55	2095
18	1468	1418	1030	431	57	10	18	556	3578
19	1292	1126	323	236	49	12	18	346	2278
20	1330	1175	668	208	49	17	23	513	2808
Tot.	19862	17683	14626	5318	971	166	546	7085	45879

Source: U.S. Census (1870). Schedule I (Population), Baltimore City.

census by the national origins of the heads of household displays this patchwork pattern even more graphically than the foregoing tables.[11] This plot indicates that persons of divergent origins lived next door to one another in the same building as well as simply nearby. Black households were, perhaps, the most concentrated on a block-by-block basis because of racial prejudice and economic constraints.[12] Nevertheless, it was not uncommon for black families to have German, and especially, Irish people for next-door and/or same-building neighbors.

Since these 1870 patterns were the most fully developed of the three censuses, they indicate that where a particular concentration existed at all, it was slow to develop and occurred after, not before, the group had established itself in the city. With the noted exceptions, national or ethnic origin alone was neither the sole nor apparently the most important determinant for blacks, immigrants, and native whites in Baltimore in the selection of a place of residence. One must turn to other factors to illuminate the residential selection process.

11. Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore," Appendix B, pp. 269–328.
12. Two of the most densely populated alleys included Welcome Alley in South Baltimore and Happy Alley in East Baltimore. By 1870, the latter had been re-named Durham Street.

If the major ethnic groups in Baltimore did not occupy distinct and inviolable sections of the city, this did not mean that particular neighborhoods failed to share common social characteristics or that ethnic groups lacked a degree of cohesion. For higher on the head's of household list of priorities than ethnic residential proximity was occupational proximity. In this respect the mid nineteenth century city of Baltimore established the limits of where householders could live, should they wish to obtain employment. With a few exceptions, Baltimore in 1850 still resembled a rather loose confederation of villages some of which dated back to the mid eighteenth century. Finite in terms of the people they could house *and* employ, these "villages" or neighborhoods could simply not have accommodated a deluge of blacks or of immigrants even if their metaphorical hearts had been so hospitably inclined. For their part, the newcomers were constrained—some more fortuitously than others—to scatter themselves where they could find demand for their ethnic or personal occupational specialties.

By 1870, however, because of the qualitative and quantitative additions which immigrants and blacks had made to the economy for twenty years, important changes in the relationships between occupation, residence, and ethnicity were in process.

By 1850 the city had already differentiated into a central industrial district and areas of specialized production. Ward 9 situated on the upper harbor, or Basin, housed more establishments than any other ward. However, wards 1 and 2—located on the lower harbor—and wards 10, 12, 13 and 14—north and northwest of Ward 9—exhibited considerable manufacturing. Heavy industry's forges, foundries, rolling mills, and engine works were concentrated along or close to water: near Fell's Point in wards 1 and 2, along Jones' Falls in wards 4, 5 and 11; surrounding the Basin in wards 15 and 17. Only in ward 18 did iron production operate at considerable distance from the water. The city's brickyards and quarries concentrated in the least populated districts of the city—in ward 17, west of Fort McHenry; and 18, west of Union Square—where the extraction of the area's clay deposits could anticipate future construction. With the exception of paper manufacturing, light industry exhibited both centralized and localized patterns.

Though shop size remained small, over the next two decades localized development of specific manufactures and the growth of the central industrial district occurred. Although measurements of the status of industry are less exact for 1860 and 1870 than 1850, these trends are nonetheless impressive.[13] The development of the central manufacturing district grew out of mid-century changes in urban population, land use, and technology. Neighborhoods with a distinctive economic character began to change under the waves of immigrants in the 1830s and especially the late 1840s and 1850s. Wealthy persons decided to relocate and commute to work by foot, buggy, and eventually omnibus rather than continue to live in neighborhoods growing crowded with workers and their families.

13. Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore," pp. 76–78. Since the 1870 Manufacturing Schedules are not available, the discussion of industry's location after 1860 is based upon selected manufacturers from Baltimore city directories.

Most pronounced in wards 15, 2, 4, 5, and 10, this exodus had two effects. It left behind wards of more uniformly poor residents and made available lots for industrial expansion outward from the harbor. These lots became most sought after by heavy industry and factories whose layers of outgrowth reflected their needs to remain as close as possible to waterborne raw materials and fuel, and to transshipment points. Thus heavy industry's poor unskilled and semiskilled employees continued to live near their place of work. Light industrial clusters, notably the garment district, neither needed nor sought a location so close to the harbor. Slightly to the north of the refineries and foundries, and still only a drayman's or hod carrier's distance to water and rail transportation points, they were centrally located for their employees. For now suburbanization was luring persons of middle and modest incomes. Like the rich increasingly perplexed and suffocated by changes in older neighborhoods, they provided the impetus for a more efficient means of mass transit than the slow, noisy, destructive omnibus. Between 1859 and 1862, a regular transportation network of horsedrawn trolleys linked new residential districts with the central city.[14] By 1870 employees in the garment district, lumber yards, piano factories, bakeries, newspapers, and cigar stores commuted to work from over 10,000 new structures built in peripheral wards 6, 7, 8, 18 and 19 since the Civil War.[15]

Despite the impetus behind the centralization of the industrial district, the 1870 neighborhood was only a transitional, not a radical, departure from Baltimore Town of 1800. Obviously, not all residents who could afford to move to the suburbs had done so by 1870. Moreover, newer and older neighborhoods retained or regenerated many business and service facilities which afforded large measures of self-sufficiency.

Commercial and professional services illustrated both localization and specialization of the workplace. Banks, insurance companies, consulates, and newspapers, the mainstays of the commercial-financial district, were clearly centralized in ward 9 because their location depended more on the heartbeat of the city's economy than its people. The German savings bank in ward 2 and the bare beginnings of a neighborhood insurance industry in the northern and northwestern wards were exceptions. On the other hand, professionals and small merchants, persons whose services were in varying degrees more personal than institutional, followed their clientele to the suburbs. Lawyers, and to a less extent, engineers and architects, continued to put out their shingles mainly near

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14. George Rogers Taylor. "The Beginnings of Mass Transportation in Urban America," *Smithsonian Journal of History*, 1 (Summer and Autumn, 1966): 35–50, 31–54; Hall, *Baltimore*, 1: 542–51. Although Baltimore led all American cities into the railroad age, it was the last of the big Eastern cities to develop the horse-trolley. Omnibus service in Baltimore began in 1844 but failed to provide the comfortable, speedy service necessary to generate an extensive system of intracity transportation. The movement to the western suburbs, well underway before the 1859 construction of railway tracks, is all the more remarkable in view of this. It may be that the original suburbanization entailed a combined business and residential movement, only to be transformed by a system of transportation which made commuting to the workplace far less onerous.

15. J. F. Weishampel, Jr., *The Stranger in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 59. No systematic measurement of commuting exists; however, a rough comparison of the location of businesses with those of the residences of persons employed in corresponding occupations indicates that a considerable commuting on a daily basis into the central business district had developed by 1870.

the courts and financial district; doctors and dentists, hotels—residential and transient—and real estate brokers showed marked tendencies to suburbanize.

In even more fundamental ways did these streetcar suburbs retain their local flavor. New public schools and hospitals were constructed to keep educational and medical services within walking distance of residences. Virtually every shopper in the city could trade not only with the neighborhood shopkeepers but, with greater choice, one of the area market places. Suburban church construction reflected not only the individual's need in the new neighborhoods for religious affiliation, but, in many instances, the transplanting of an older congregation with its community characteristics. In this regard, the pattern of development evident in the localization of white Methodist Episcopal churches from 1850 to 1870 may serve to illustrate the process for other denominations as well.[16]

During this generation the changing economic character of Baltimore's neighborhoods was both the cause and effect of changes in the occupational pattern of residences. Just as manufacturing and commerce gradually clustered in the downtown area, some wards acquired a residential specialization, and still others retained the traditional pattern of residential-employment proximity.

A residential analysis reveals that by 1870, the householder's residence, occupation, and ethnic origin were more closely related than origin and residence alone.[17] For example, in the heavily Irish 8th ward, the shoemakers were proportionately more German than Irish. Only in a few instances and usually in areas where one ethnic group had a large number of households, did members of that group dominate an occupation out of proportion to its city-wide representation in that occupation. These exceptions included the numbers of German unskilled laborers in southeast Baltimore, Irish grocers in ward 8, black grocers and unemployed in the Mount Vernon vicinity, and black professionals and unemployed near the Cross Street Market. These examples might suggest that in the choice of residence, limited concentrations of a single ethnic group followed rather than proceded marked changes in the occupational status of the group in question.

A look at the economic status of Baltimore's ethnic groups will further clarify the occupational-residence relationship.[18] Only if one of two things happened would the ethnic or black be likely to find himself surrounded by his compatriots: (1) if he possessed contacts and/or capital and/or a skill which enabled him to earn a good living, he could live more or less where he chose. And he usually chose

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16. Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore," pp. 103–9. Michael Franch of the University of Maryland is now at work on the definitive account of the role of the church in Baltimore's urban growth. The following comments are intended as purely cursory: From 1850 to 1870 the city directories indicate that Episcopal and Presbyterian churches most closely followed the native migration to the north; Roman Catholic churches—except the German language ones—exhibited city-wide a peripheral expansion; Methodism, the most numerous denomination, expanded in all directions; the Reformed, United Brethren and Lutheran churches expanded outward more slowly and into the most German parts of the city; only the minority Protestant, Jewish, and all black churches showed very limited spread or growth.

17. Unlike the figures in Table 2, these conclusions are based exclusively upon heads of household purporting to own $500 or more in real and/or personal estate.

18. Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore," Appendix C, pp. 329–54.

to follow a trend set by his fellow countrymen—to live in small ethnic communities predicated upon the attainment of wealth. On the other hand, (2) should he find himself without money and skills, he would face a limited choice of residences in or around the manufacturing district or servant communities, where he would find many of his countrymen and possibly other poor, unskilled ethnics. For the many living in between economic comfort and real desperation, neighborhoods consisting of mixed national and ethnic origins were a virtual certainty.[19]

After two decades of flux, residence on the basis of wealth resulted in a pattern of relative economic homogeneity within wards. Wards 5, 6, and 7, heavily inhabited by Germans, generally embraced households of middle and upper middle-class wealth in 1870. The increasing Germanization along Harford Road and near what is today Johns Hopkins University Hospital would lead one to conclude that in the selection of residence, ethnicity followed wealth, which in turn depended upon one's occupation. Wards 9, 10, and 14, adjacent to the central business district, now housed diverse households. The southern wards 15, 16, and 17 had become poorer since 1860, though in ward 16 affluent German and Irish households proliferated on certain streets near Ross Winans' locomotive works. Wards 11, 12, 19, and 20 drew increasing numbers of wealthy native-born households to the northwestern parts of the city.[20] Yet far from being homogeneously wealthy or native, wards 11 and 12 still contained many black and Irish households at the other extreme. Thus by 1870, despite the formation of wealthy German suburbs to the northeast and even more lavish native white residences in Mount Vernon and Bolton Hill, the location of other minority groups who owned varying amounts of property within the interstices of these suburbs denied Baltimore a residential homogeneity solely on the basis of wealth and/or ethnicity.

In summary, Baltimore in 1870 was really a patchwork of nationalities and establishments stitched together by a complex thread of economic and demographic change. It consisted of white natives, Germans, Irish, other foreign groups, and blacks scattered throughout the "social quilt." Some neighborhood clusters of one group appeared here and there, but heterogeneous mixtures of various ethnic origins were more common. Even the apparently similar clusters differed on the basis of wealth—one forced to work in the growing business center of the city, the other fortunate enough to escape it. Still others brewed their beer and liquors in the only parts of the city where they could conveniently find the ingredients. Individuals of a given heritage were more likely to work at one job

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19. *Ibid.*, Appendix D, pp. 355–81. On a per capita basis, Baltimore's German households comprised the city's solid middle class. Forty percent of the above owned property assessed at more than $500, compared with 36 percent of the British households, 34 percent, native; 24 percent, Irish; and 7 percent, black. Native white Baltimoreans continued to dominate the upper class since 14 percent owned property in excess of $5,000, compared with 11 percent of the British; 7 percent, German, 5 percent, Irish; and no black households.

20. A check of the occupations of nonproperty owners in wards 11 and 12 would seem to indicate that many persons with prestigious occupations were not credited with the wealth they undoubtedly possessed.

than another, but unless they became financially comfortable or toiled for the lowest wages, no one could have predicted where they might live.

In the light of their ethnic and racial heterogeneity, these neighborhoods depended upon their institutional fixity and autonomy to create an operational basis for "community" in mid nineteenth century Baltimore. The spatial distribution of minority groups governed all persons' sense of community. For example, all whites may have profited psychologically by their proximity to impoverished, unskilled blacks. If this generation of Baltimore was migrating as rapidly as persons in Boston, Milwaukee, and other cities, the neighborhood's self-sufficiency may have provided an incubator against those currents and cross-currents. For, no matter where a householder moved in Baltimore, he could expect to find neighborhoods which contained all the markets, shops, schools, and churches he might have needed. Not until the turn-of-the-century arrival of Italians, Poles, and Russians and the spread of heavy industry into east and west Baltimore would Baltimore's neighborhoods lose this integrated character.

The Changing Location of the Clothing Industry: A Link to the Social Geography of Baltimore in the Nineteenth Century

EDWARD K. MULLER AND PAUL A. GROVES

DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY BALTIMORE, LIKE most large northern cities, underwent a reorganization of its internal space because of rapid growth in population and physical area, a change in the composition of its population, and the industrialization of its economic base. By the early twentieth century, the city's social geography manifested the now familiar economic, ethnic, and religious divisions common to American industrial metropolises.[1] Accordingly, Baltimore during the post-Civil War period offers an opportunity to investigate the patterns and processes of the transition from a heterogeneous, mercantile city to a large, segregated, industrial one.[2]

Historians and geographers have long recognized the importance of ethnic group cohesion, the availability of housing, and the location of occupational opportunities for the emergence of socially distinct neighborhoods.[3] However, there is a need to evaluate the relative contribution of these forces within the different contexts of the evolving nineteenth century city. This article is concerned with the changing location of employment and, inferentially, with its importance to residential patterning—that is, the tie between work and residence which we commonly refer to for individuals as the journey-to-work and in a generalized form as the employment linkage.[4] Despite the elaboration of the horsecar network in the third quarter of the century, its expense together with the uncertainty of steady employment meant that the journey-to-work remained a pedestrian one for most of the work force. Only after the electrification of intracity transit in the 1890s was the importance of proximity to employment opportunities potentially diminished for the working man in his selection of a residential location. A recent study of Philadelphia concludes that the journey-

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1. Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. Mc Kenzie, *The City* (Chicago, 1925).
2. David Ward, "Victorian Cities: How Modern," *Journal Historical Geography*, 1 (1975): 135–51.
3. David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America* (New York, 1971), and Sam B. Warner, Jr., *The Urban Wilderness* (New York, 1972).
4. James E. Vance, "Housing the Worker: The Employment Linkage as a Force in Urban Structure," *Economic Geography*, 42 (1966): 297.

to-work in that city was generally less than one mile in 1880, reflecting only a small increase since mid century that was commensurate with the city's growth and the decline in residential density rather than with a shift in behavior.[5] Thus the distribution of employment opportunities must have been an important factor in the residential patterning of workers throughout most of the second half of the century. Furthermore, the evidence of an ethnic division of labor—that is, an overrepresentation of certain ethnic groups in specific occupations[6]—emphasizes the potential importance of discrete employment districts.[7]

During the mercantile phases of American city development, employment was centrally focused and greatly intermixed. With the subsequent rapid growth and technological changes of the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the kind and location of industrial activity underwent extensive modifications. Both the addition of new industries and the changing organization of older ones reshaped the composition and location of employment centers. In Baltimore growing industrialization had created at least six distinct industrial employment districts by 1860.[8] The most important of these was comprised of the new ready-to-wear clothing industry, which engaged nearly one-third of the city's industrial work force. In terms of employment, clothing remained the city's largest industry well into the twentieth century.[9] However, as with the industry nationally, Baltimore's clothiers implemented changes in the organization of production from the putting-out system to the factory and sweatshop systems, which altered both the location of production and the composition of the workforce. Considering the persistent pedestrian nature of the employment linkage and the significance of the clothing industry during the second half of the nineteenth century, it seems relevant to specify the changing geography of clothing production within the city in order to aid our comprehension of the residential patterns and processes of the period.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, tailors in the United States operated in the traditional artisan manner, providing custom-fitted clothing for their local urban market. The only ready-made products were refurbished secondhand clothes and cheap "slop-shop" apparel for sailors.[10] During the next

5. Theodore Hershberg, Harold Cox, and Dale Light, Jr., "'The Journey-to-Work': An Empirica. Investigation of Work, Residence, and Transportation, Philadelphia 1850 and 1880," paper presented at the 89th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, 1974.

6. Theodore Hershberg, *et al.*, "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 7 (1974): 174–216.

7. David Ward found little evidence that ethnic division of labor had effected residential patterns in mid-nineteenth century New York ("Some Locational Implications of the Ethnic Division of Labor in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Cities," in *Pattern and Process: Research in Historical Geography*, ed. Ralph E. Ehrenberg [Washington, 1975], pp.258–70).

8. Paul A. Groves and Edward K. Muller, "Manufacturing in the Mid-Century City: Baltimore in 1860," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Milwaukee, 1975.

9. Eleanor S. Bruchey, "The Development of Baltimore Business, 1880–1914, Part I," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 64 (1969): 33–42.

10. Jesse E. Pope, *The Clothing Industry in New York*, (New York, 1970; original ed. 1905), pp. 6–7; and Henry A. Corbin, *The Men's Clothing Industry: Colonial Through Modern Times*, (New York, 1970) p. 19.

several decades, improvements in transportation connections to settling western and southern regions of the United States along with the rapid growth of large cities created new demands for men's ready-made clothing. Supported by the emergence of the domestic textile industry and the imposition of steep tariffs upon foreign-made clothing, tailors with the aid of merchants who knew the interregional markets shifted a portion of their attention to ready-made garments. Increases in production were achieved through a division of labor into skilled and unskilled tasks, the latter permitting the use of poorly paid immigrants, women, and children. The traditional artisan shop was transformed into a small manufactory. While the front room remained the focus of the custom trade, the back rooms were turned over to skilled cutting activities for ready-made garments. Sewing and trimming was parcelled out to less skilled workers who frequently performed these operations in their own homes, saving the tailor the expense of providing space for his expanded workforce. Whether these unskilled employees worked on the tailor's premises (referred to as the inside shop) or at home (the outside shop), the production of ready-made men's clothing initiated a new urban manufacturing activity, and the tailors or merchants who concentrated on the new markets were called clothiers.[11]

The usual sources shed little light upon clothing production in Baltimore during the first third of the century. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the manufactory with an internal division of labor had appeared as in other North American cities.[12] In his guide book of 1833, Charles Varle listed forty-seven establishments in the various clothing activities.[13] Although Varle provided neither a comprehensive inventory of firms nor an accurate indicator of organization, he identified only two firms as clothiers and four as merchant tailors. Furthermore, 80 percent of these activities were located in the emerging central retail area of the city. In view of the book's boasting tone, it seems reasonable to presume that Varle would have identified the clothiers had they formed a prominent portion of the city's growing manufacturers.[14] Both terminology and location point to an incipient phase of this industry, in which many tailors probably performed custom and ready-made operations.

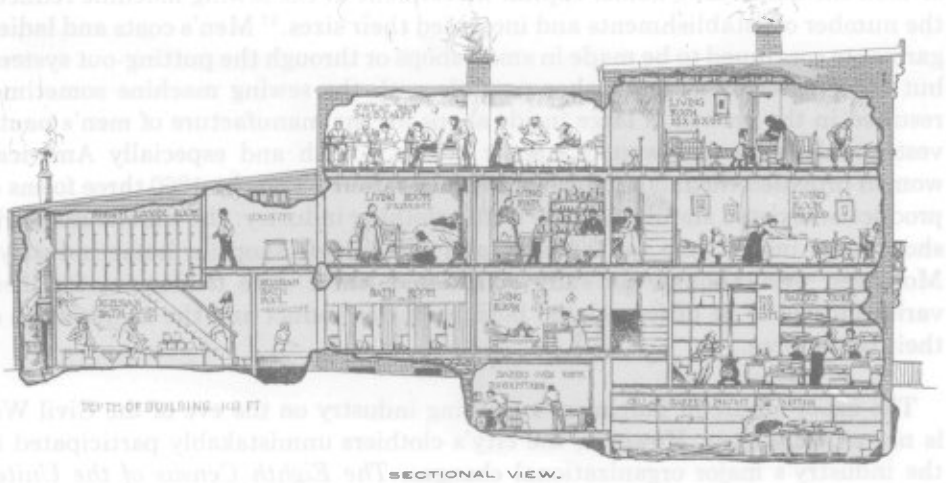
Nationally, the rapid expansion of markets for ready-to-wear men's clothing between 1830 and the Civil War accelerated the transition from artisan to manufacturing forms of production in the major eastern entrepôts. The wholesale manufacturer became the central organizing force for the operation. The scale of production was vastly increased, and relatively large warehouse accommodations were necessary for the storage of materials, the accommodation of skilled tailors for the cutting and marking of garments, and the distribution of materials to the unskilled workers.[15] The outside shop or putting-out system predominated with

11. Pope, *The Clothing Industry*, pp. 11–13; Corbin, *Men's Clothing Industry*, pp. 19–32.
12. Gary L. Browne, "Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861: A Social Economy in Industrial Revolution," (Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1973), pp. 183–84.
13. Charles Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore, 1833* (Baltimore, 1833), and cross referenced with the city directories of the period.
14. Neither the *Niles Weekly Register* nor contemporary city directories gave any indication of clothiers.
15. Pope, *The Clothing Industry*, pp. 14–15.

FRONT VIEW.

Front View of Building containing Sweatshop. Source: B.I.S., 1903.

the journeymen, or semi-skilled tailors, and women picking up the materials at the warehouse for work at home. Initially English, Scottish, and Irish tailors performed the skilled tasks and American and Irish women the unskilled. With the influx of German immigrants towards mid century, German tailors frequently organized the putting together of garments at home, using their families



Sectional View of Building containing Sweatshop. Source: B.I.S., 1903.

Interior of Sweatshop. Source: B.I.S., 1905.

for the unskilled labor.[16] Eventually, many of these German tailors went into business for themselves as clothiers.

Both the adoption of sewing machines in the 1850s and the different requirements of specific clothing products also spurred the development of large inside shops and factories. Although some workers purchased their own machines

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 24 and 27; Corbin, *Men's Clothing Industry*, pp. 60–62.

or took the employer's home, capital investment in the sewing machine reduced the number of establishments and increased their sizes.[17] Men's coats and ladies' garments continued to be made in small shops or through the putting-out system, but the greater division of labor possible with the sewing machine sometimes resulted in the growth of large inside shops for the manufacture of men's pants, vests, and shirts and women's outer cloaks.[18] Irish and especially American women provided the labor for these large operations. Thus by 1860 three forms of production existed simultaneously in the clothing industry: the warehouse/workshop, large inside shop (or factory), and the outside shop (or home industry). Moreover, even though not fully articulated, there were tendencies for these various forms to be differentiated both by their product and the composition of their labor force.

The exact nature of Baltimore's clothing industry on the eve of the Civil War is not entirely clear. However, the city's clothiers unmistakably participated in the industry's major organizational changes. *The Eighth Census of the United States* (1860) reported 152 establishments in a variety of clothing activities, employing more than 6,000 persons (Table 1).[19] In terms of employment, it had become the city's largest industry. The production of men's clothing overwhelmingly predominated within the industry, providing 96 percent of the employment and 92 percent of the total value of output. Outside of men's clothing and shirts, the small shop with less than ten employees (about half female) was most characteristic. However, among the 119 men's clothing establishments, the manuscript schedules of the manufacturing census revealed a significant split.[20] While the terms tailor, merchant tailor, and clothier are used somewhat ambiguously (by either the enumerator or manufacturer), the differences in organization that are associated with each type seem clear. The seventy-three tailors and merchant tailors together employed only 11 percent of the workers in the men's clothing industry, averaging 9.3 employees per firm. Women comprised one-third of their labor force. In contrast, the forty-six firms designated as clothiers or clothing employed over 5,000 persons, 68 percent (3,500) of whom were women. The clothier's median employment size was thirty, while a few listed several hundred employees. In keeping with national trends, the men's clothing industry between 1850 and 1860 experienced a nearly 50 percent decline in the number of firms but a substantial increase in their scale of operations.[21]

To what extent these clothiers operated inside or outside shops is unknown. A variety of evidence points towards a mixed pattern. The small tailor shops were rather widely distributed about the city (Fig. 1), but the large clothiers concentrated on the western edge of the central business area in the workshop/

17. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Manufactures* (Washington, 1865), p. lx; Corbin, *Men's Clothing Industry*, pp. 42–46.
18. Pope, *The Clothing Industry*, pp. 16–18; Joel I. Seidman, *The Needles Trade* (New York, 1942), p. 20.
19. *Eighth Census, 1860, Manufactures*, pp. 220–22.
20. Manuscript Census for the State of Maryland, Baltimore City, 1860, *Eighth Census, 1860, Manufactures*, (Maryland State Library, Annapolis).
21. Manuscript Census, 1860, *Manufactures;* and Browne, "Baltimore in the Nation," pp. 358–66.

TABLE 1

BALTIMORE'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY, 1860

Product type	Number of establishments	Total employment	Employees per establishment	Number of female employees	Percent of female to total no. of employees	Total value of production ($)
Men's clothing	119	5,811	48.8	3,672	63.2	3,124,081
Shirts	2	53	26.5	48	90.6	35,000
Hats & caps	18	111	6.2	35	31.5	145,047
Cloaks	4	42	10.5	41	97.6	28,425
Corsets	1	2	2.0	2	100.0	9,360
Hoopskirts	2	8	4.0	6	75.0	11,250
Millinery	3	8	2.7	8	100.0	4,582
Silk trim	3	35	11.7	13	37.1	39,800
Totals	152	6,070	39.9	3,825	63.0	3,397,545

Source: Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Manufactures, pp. 220-22.

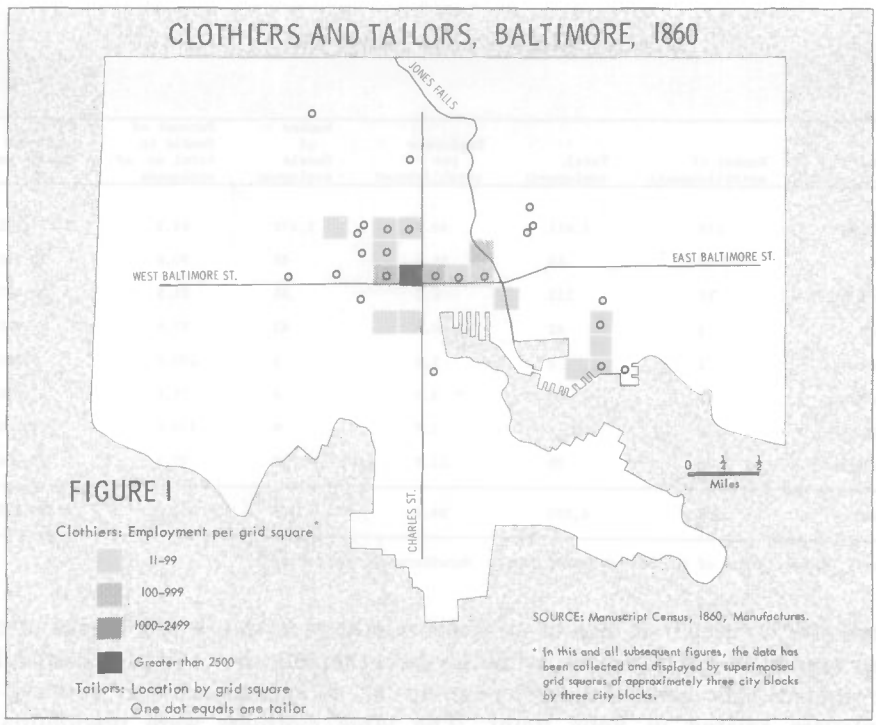
warehouse district.[22] A cluster of fifteen clothiers within a few blocks of each other employed 4,200 persons, while several other clothiers and merchant tailors surrounded this core. A smaller group of six clothiers with seventy-four employees existed in Fells Point. The large clothiers were predominantly German, and together with the emphasis upon the production of men's coats, it seems likely that a large proportion of this work was organized through the outside shop of the German family system in nearby south and west Baltimore. While American, and possibly Irish, women in the west and northwest were also probably involved in an outside relationship[23] with these clothiers, many must have worked in large inside shops within the workshop/warehouse district. The increase in firm size during the decade, the production of large quantities of pants, vests, and furnishings such as shirts, and the high percentage of female employment (two-thirds) by these clothiers suggest the concomitant existence of both inside and outside shops. Curiously, newspaper and other primary accounts do not mention the topic.

Regardless of the system of organization in 1860, the concentration of clothiers and merchant tailors in a workshop/warehouse district created a tremendous employment focus for skilled and semi-skilled tailors as well as for unskilled women. This employment linkage must have exerted considerable pressure for these native and immigrant groups of labor to reside relatively close by, for all were dependent upon pedestrian movement.[24] Whether due to the inconvenience

22. For a discussion of midcentury warehouse/workshop districts, see Ward, *Cities and Immigrants*, pp. 89-93.

23. Charles Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900: Studies in Social History* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 57. Hershberg, *et al.*, note the disproportionate concentration of Germans in tailoring occupations in 1860 ("Occupation and Ethnicity," pp. 197 and 201).

24. "Street Car System and Rapid Transit" in *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall (New York, 1912), pp. 542-58. The city's first horsecar line opened in 1859.



and competition for work of the outside shop or the long hours and low pay of the inside system, proximity to this employment district must have been a high priority in the selection of a residence and contributed to the residential heterogeneity of central neighborhoods which has been documented.[25]

At the national level the demand for Civil War uniforms provided experience in the production of ready-to-wear clothing. Sizes were standardized and the processes of mass production were refined.[26] Although the domestic and family forms of the outside shop continued long after 1865, the wartime experience combined with burgeoning demands for ready-to-wear clothing and the influx of cheap immigrant labor to support the development of the contracting system. In this system, manufacturers subcontracted the sewing and finishing of garments to small entrepreneurs (contractors), who in turn organized semi-skilled and unskilled laborers into production teams.[27] Contractors were responsible for accommodations, machines, and materials, thereby relieving the manufacturers of this expense.[28] The minute division of labor permitted the use of unskilled

25. Joseph Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850–1870," (Ph.D. diss., SUNY at Stony Brook, 1974).
26. Pope, *The Clothing Industry*, pp. 8–9.
27. Corbin, *Men's Clothing Industry*, pp. 64–75; *Twelfth Census of the United States 1900: Manufactures Vol. IX, Pt. III* (Washington, 1902), pp. 296–98.
28. *Third Annual Report*, Bureau of Industrial Statistics of Maryland, 1895 (Baltimore, 1895), p. 82 (hereafter referred to as B.I.S.).

workers, while the organization into a workshop, rather than factory, provided supervision and quality control. The contracting system met the expanding demands for ready-to-wear clothing, but it also resulted in the extreme exploitation of labor, since the contractor's profits were the difference between his production costs and the contracted price. In periods of intense competition, contracts were obtained by lowering bids and "sweating" the difference out of the workers. Hence, this system spawned the infamous "sweatshops" of the late nineteenth century.

Nationally, the contracting system is reported to have begun in the 1870s.[29] The massive immigration of impoverished and unskilled Russian Jews after 1880 provided the cheap labor force, but large numbers of Bohemians, Austrians, Lithuanians, and later Italians also worked in and ran such workshops. Although women and children worked in sweatshops, men were far more predominant than they had been in the domestic and family systems (often for cultural reasons).[30] As in the past, central accessibility benefited both the manufacturer and contractor; however, the desire to reduce space costs led contractors to utilize lofts, attics, and dwelling rooms in nearby residential districts rather than compete for space within central commercial districts. Moreover, the separate roles of manufacturer, middleman, and worker loosened spatial bonds and permitted the location of workshops at considerable distances from the manufacturer with the contractor providing the transportation of goods and materials.

The contracting system predominated in the production of men's coats. The development of men's furnishings and women's clothing as ready-to-wear industries augmented the use of contractors, but these activities were organized frequently into large inside shops and factories (referred to as the Boston or Rochester systems).[31] The inside shops employed mostly females; and while many were modest in size (fifteen to thirty employees), some employed work forces of several hundred in the upper floors of central area buildings. Thus, by 1900 the ready-to-wear industry in the United States had expanded into all types of clothing production, but the organization of this production and the composition of work force was partially differentiated by product.

By the end of the century, Baltimore ranked fourth in the nation in terms of the value of production of men's clothing, and such production ranked first within Baltimore itself.[32] As in the ante-bellum period, the development of the city's clothing industries paralleled national changes. Between 1860 and 1880 the city's clothing production tripled in value. With a similar three-fold increase in output, men's clothing led this expansion (Table 2). However, the total number of employees in the men's clothing industry only doubled to 10,400.[33] Again,

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29. Pope, *The Clothing Industry*, p. 51.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–56.
31. Seidman, *The Needles Trade*, p. 21–25; Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870–1900, pp. 59–60; and* Isaac M. Fein, *The Making of An American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry, 1773–1920* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 167.
32. Bruchey, "Development of Baltimore Business," pp. 34 and 39.
33. The published and manuscript census data are not consistent. We have based most of our analysis on our calculations from the manuscript census, and used the published census for

TABLE 2

BALTIMORE'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY, 1880

Product type	Number of establishments	Total employment	Employees per establishment	Number of female employees	Percent of female to total no. of employees	Total value of production ($)
Men's clothing	188	11,157	59.3	5,915	53.0	9,446,763
Women's clothing	27	527	19.5	482	91.5	469,718
Hats & caps	6	55	9.2	33	60.0	63,380
Shirts	38	1,696	44.6	1,284	75.7	949,524
Millinery	11	198	18.0	133	67.2	229,460
Totals:	270	13,633	50.5	7,847	57.6	11,158,845

Source: Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Manufactures, pp. 383-84.

manuscript census data does not present a clear picture of the industry's organization, but some inferences can be made. While the number of women increased, their proportion of the work force declined from 63 to 53 percent; this decline may indicate a trend toward the contract system in which men were most widely employed. The small shop still flourished throughout the city with nearly 50 percent of all men's clothing establishments employing less than nine and two-thirds less than twenty employees (Table 3). The female proportion of the work force in these small shops remained at about one-third. Large clothing establishments were increasing in number. Forty firms each engaged more than fifty persons, representing 87 percent of the total work force (over 9,000) and 91 percent of the female employees in men's clothing. While the proportional decline of female employees in the work force of these large clothiers may point to the beginning of contracting, the predominance of American and German workers, according to the published census, suggests the continuation of domestic and family forms of the putting-out system.[34] Indeed a Maryland Bureau of Industrial Statistics survey of 1888–89 noted that the vast majority of female employees in men's clothing worked at home.[35]

The nearly 8,000 native-born Americans listed in clothing occupations in 1880 reflected a new trend in Baltimore's clothing industry, namely the growth of shirt and women's clothing production. Shirtmaking grew most dramatically; thirty-five establishments employed 1,800 persons of whom two-thirds were female.

comparisons with the published reports of 1860 and 1900 (*Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Report on Manufactures* [Washington, 1883], pp. 383–84; and Manuscript Census of the State of Maryland; Baltimore, 1880; *Tenth Census, 1880, Manufactures*, [Maryland State Library, Annapolis]).

34. Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: *Statistics of Population* (Washington, 1833), p. 863.

35. *Third Biennial Report*, Bureau of Industrial Statistics and Information of Maryland, 1888–89, (Annapolis, 1889), p. 121 (hereafter referred to as B.I.S.I.).

TABLE 3

SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN'S CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENTS, BALTIMORE AT 1860 AND 1880

Size category of establishment (No. of employees)	Number of establishments		Total employment		Employees per establishment		Number of female employees		Percent of female to total no. of employees	
	1860	1880	1860	1880	1860	1880	1860	1880	1860	1880
0–9	58	90	303	361	5.2	4.0	118	135	38.9	37.4
10–49	48	56	1075	990	22.4	17.7	543	381	50.5	38.5
50+	13	40	4467	9037	343.6	225.9	3053	5030	68.3	55.7

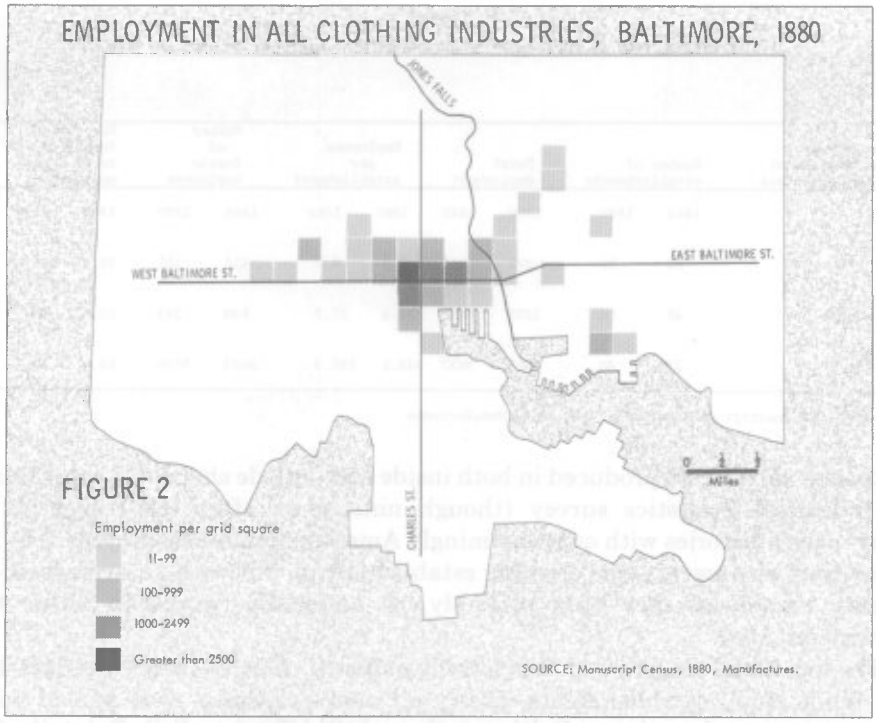
Sources: Manuscript Censuses, 1860 and 1880, Manufactures.

Although shirts were produced in both inside and outside shops, the same Bureau of Industrial Statistics survey (though nine years after 1880) suggests the existence of factories with overwhelmingly American female employees.[36] In 1880 there were also twenty-one clothing establishments, but with an average of only twenty employees they were probably, as nationally, workshop rather than factory oriented.

The locational structure of the clothing industry changed little since 1860 (Fig. 2). While small establishments, nearly all men's clothing, were spread widely from western and northwest Baltimore through Old Town to Fells Point, the large clothiers, shirtmakers, and cloak manufacturers were tightly clustered on the western edge of the central business area (Fig. 3). Approximately ninety manufacturers in this warehouse/workshop area reported employing more than 9,000 persons. This cluster had gradually expanded eastward into the central business area towards the Jones Falls, presumably in search of large, loft accommodations that were still accessible to both labor and the vital information sources of the industry. Although a large, though unspecified, proportion of workers performed their tasks at home, this persistent cluster of clothiers maintained the central focus of employment for American, Irish, and German skilled designers and cutters, unskilled inside shop workers, and large numbers of new, mostly American, female factory operatives.[37] Recall that, as in 1860, most industrial journeys-to-work were probably still pedestrian.

By the century's end the new developments in clothing manufactures, which were barely perceptible in Baltimore in 1880, had become major features of the city's industry. Although clothing's proportion of the city's total industrial work force dropped from one-quarter to a fifth, the absolute number of clothing workers increased by 6,000 to more than 19,000 (Table 4).[38] Women's clothing, shirts, and men's furnishings accounted for approximately two-thirds of this

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 97–125; Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870–1900*, p. 46.
37. *First Biennial Report*, B.I.S.I., 1884–1885 (Baltimore, 1886), pp. 87–92.
38. *Twelfth Census, 1900, Manufactures*, pp. 296–98. Because of changing instructions to enumerators and new definitions, data are not directly comparable from one census to the next.


EMPLOYMENT IN ALL CLOTHING INDUSTRIES, BALTIMORE, 1880
JONES FALLS
WEST BALTIMORE ST.
EAST BALTIMORE ST.
CHARLES ST.
0 1 2
Miles
FIGURE 2
Employment per grid square
11-99
100-999
1000-2499
Greater than 2500
SOURCE: Manuscript Census, 1880, Manufactures.

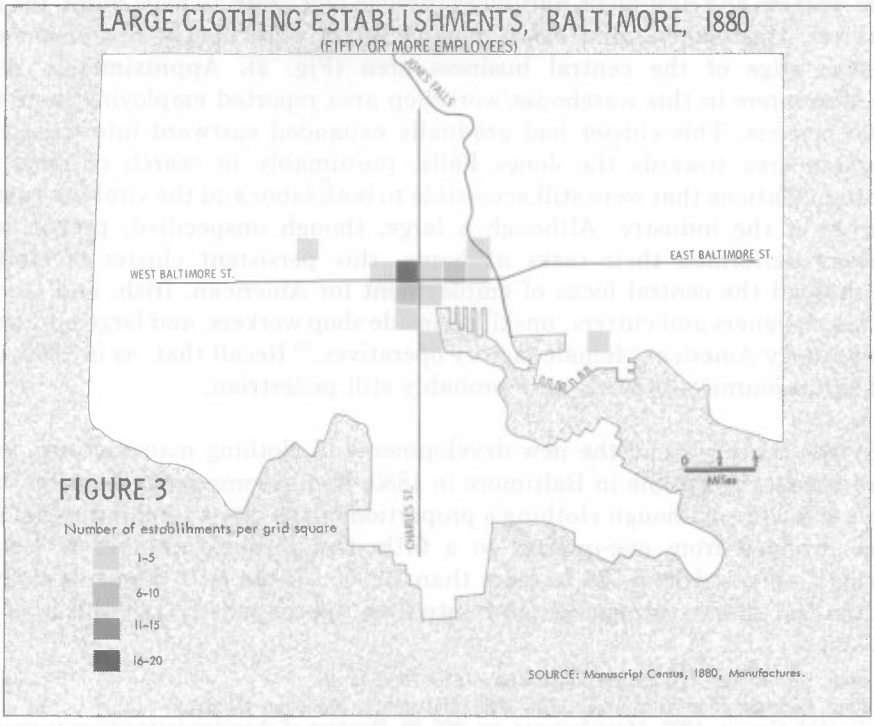

LARGE CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENTS, BALTIMORE, 1880
(FIFTY OR MORE EMPLOYEES)
JONES FALLS
WEST BALTIMORE ST.
EAST BALTIMORE ST.
CHARLES ST.
0 1 2
Miles
FIGURE 3
Number of establishments per grid square
1-5
6-10
11-15
16-20
SOURCE: Manuscript Census, 1880, Manufactures.

TABLE 4

BALTIMORE CITY CLOTHING INDUSTRY, 1900

Product type	Number of establishments	Total employment	Employees per establishment	Number of female employees	Percent of female to total no. of employees	Total value of production ($)
Men's clothing[a]	137	10,701	78.1	5,168	48.3	17,290,825
Women's clothing[a]	58	2,125	36.6	1,453	68.4	2,506,654
Buttonholes	8	48	6.0	21	43.8	26,382
Men's furnishings	16	2,017	126.1	1,779	88.2	1,729,676
Shirts	34	2,659	78.2	1,833	68.9	3,686,675
Hats & caps	20	1,216	60.8	622	51.2	1,619,825
Millinery[a]	11	306	27.8	207	67.6	1,455,791
Totals:	284	19,072	67.2	11,083	58.1	28,315,828

[a]factory work, excludes custom and repairwork
Source: Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Manufactures, Part III, pp. 296-98.

increase. Contemporary observers, both nationally and locally, noted the widespread adoption of the factory system in these activities. The Maryland Bureau of Industrial Statistics (B.I.S.) was particularly concerned with the development of "skyscraping factories," because of the long hours and inadequate compensation of the female employees who worked in them.[39] Published statistics support this trend. The average number of employees per shirt establishment increased from forty-five in 1880 to seventy-eight in 1900. Some shirtmakers reportedly employed hundreds of workers.[40] Manufacturers of men's furnishings averaged 126 employees, and even women's clothing establishments nearly doubled in size from 20 to 37 employees per firm. Female workers continued to predominate in these activities, although their proportion had declined since 1880. Occupational data from the 1900 census indicate the continuing importance of American females, but also show a rising proportion of German female workers.[41]

In contrast to this pattern of growth, the number of establishments and employees in the production of men's ready-to-wear clothing seemingly declined. However, the census data of 1880 and 1900 are not comparable. Furthermore, it is difficult to evaluate the success of 1900 enumerators in accounting for sweatshop workers. Comparison of Census and B.I.S. figures do not present enormous inconsistencies, but there is no certainty that the two governmental bodies were covering the same portions of the industry, for they had different objectives.

39. *Fourth Annual Report*, B.I.S., 1896 (Baltimore, 1896), p. 51.
40. Again, there is some ambiguity with the census reports and other secondary sources, which indicate much larger numbers. However, the census may not have been successful in enumerating the number of sweatshop workers.
41. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: *Special Report, Occupations* (Washington, 1904), pp. 488-95.

The factory system was also being adopted in men's clothing. Without the manuscript schedules of the federal census of manufacturers, it is difficult to establish the size distribution of firms. The B.I.S. survey of working conditions in clothing establishments in 1902 identifies at least eighteen factories each with fifty or more employees (Table 5).[42] A crosscheck of these with the city business directories and Sanborn maps indicates that there may have been three times as many factories.[43]

The outstanding development in men's clothing was, however, the growth of the contracting system and sweatshop. One indication of this trend might be seen in the reported decline of female workers, both absolutely and relatively, in men's clothing. Moreover, the census of occupations recorded the shifting composition of this work force, as Russian, Polish, Austrian, and Hungarian nationals comprised 56 percent of the male tailors and Germans only 36 percent.[44] Because of the notoriously poor conditions of the sweatshops and of governmental reform efforts, it is possible to gain some perspective on their position in the Baltimore men's clothing industry. A large B.I.S. survey of over 1,100 sweatshops in 1902 collected information on the size and sex composition of the work force, nativity of sweatshop licensee, product, and location. Despite definitional problems, the following picture emerges. Germans continued to own the large factories, and there was only a slight majority of female workers in them (Table 5). According to the survey, these factories employed only 18.7 percent of the work force, but a conservative estimate of other known factories and their possible work force might raise this percentage to one-quarter or one-third.[45] The smaller factories and shops (by B.I.S. definitions meaning that no people lived on the premises)[46] of less than twenty employees per establishment were most often licensed to Russians, and secondarily Germans. The shops employed about one-third of the surveyed work force and had the lowest proportion of females among their workers—about one-third. The numerous sweatshops that were located in dwellings and tenements employed close to one-half of clothing workers, and 44 percent of these were females. Americans and Russians predominated as licensees. B.I.S. reports claim, often in exaggerated terms, that Russians were overwhelmingly the largest group of sweatshop employees.[47]

The changed organization of the clothing industry altered its locational structure. Based on city directories, Sanborn maps, and the B.I.S. survey of 1902, large manufacturers and wholesale dealers primarily producing men's clothing remained concentrated in the northwest portion of the city's central business area. This concentration of clothiers had remained intact for half of a century.

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42. *Eleventh Annual Report*, Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland, 1902 (Baltimore, 1903), pp. 67–94 (hereafter referred to as B.S.I.).
43. Sanborn-Perris Map Co., *Insurance Maps of Baltimore, Maryland 1901* (New York, 1901); R. L. Polk and Co's, *Baltimore City Directory for 1901* (Baltimore, 1901).
44. *Twelfth Census, 1900: Occupations*, pp. 492–93.
45. It is interesting to note, however, that even as late as 1942, Seidman describes Baltimore as resembling New York with "its small shops and high percentage of contract shops" (*The Needles Trade*, p. 19).
46. *Twelfth Annual Report*, B.S.I., 1903 (Baltimore, 1904), p. 69.
47. *Tenth Annual Report*, B.I.S., 1901 (Baltimore, 1902), p. 145.

TABLE 5

MARYLAND BUREAU OF INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS, CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT SURVEY, 1902

Type of productive unit[a]	Number of establishments	Total employment	Employees per establishment	Number of female employees	Percent of female to total number of employees
shops	64	487	7.6	141	29.0
dwellings & apartments	1,108	4,159	3.8	1,832	44.0
factories	174	4,520	26.0	1,853	41.0
factory subcategories					
50+ employees	18	1,713	95.2	883	51.5
20-49 employees	39	1,171	30.0	514	43.9
0-19 employees	117	1,636	14.0	456	27.9
Total[b]	1,346	9,166	6.8	3,826	41.7

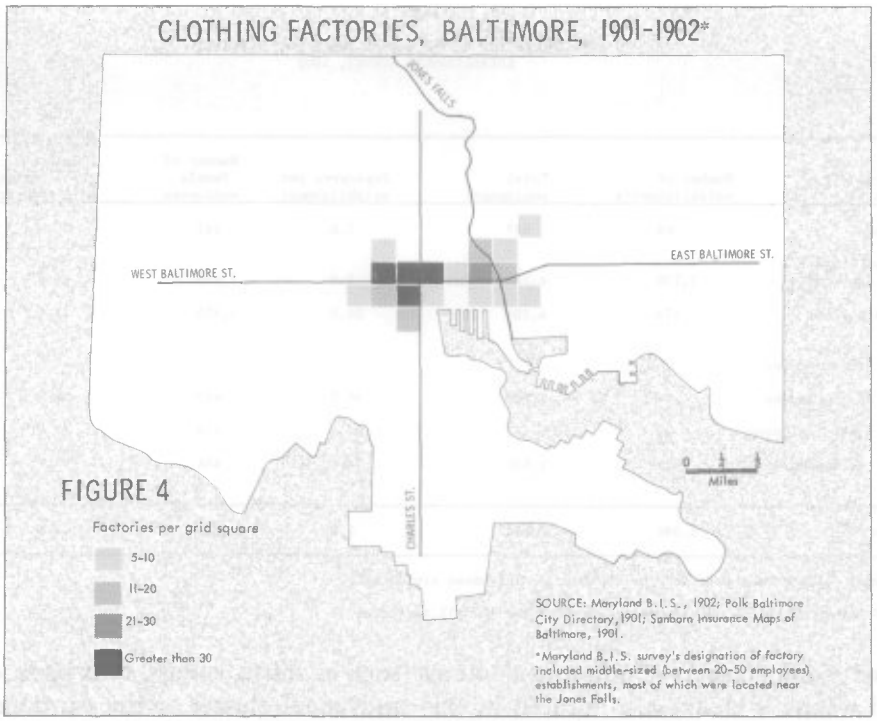
[a]Unit designations were made by the B.I.S. The bases are unclear.

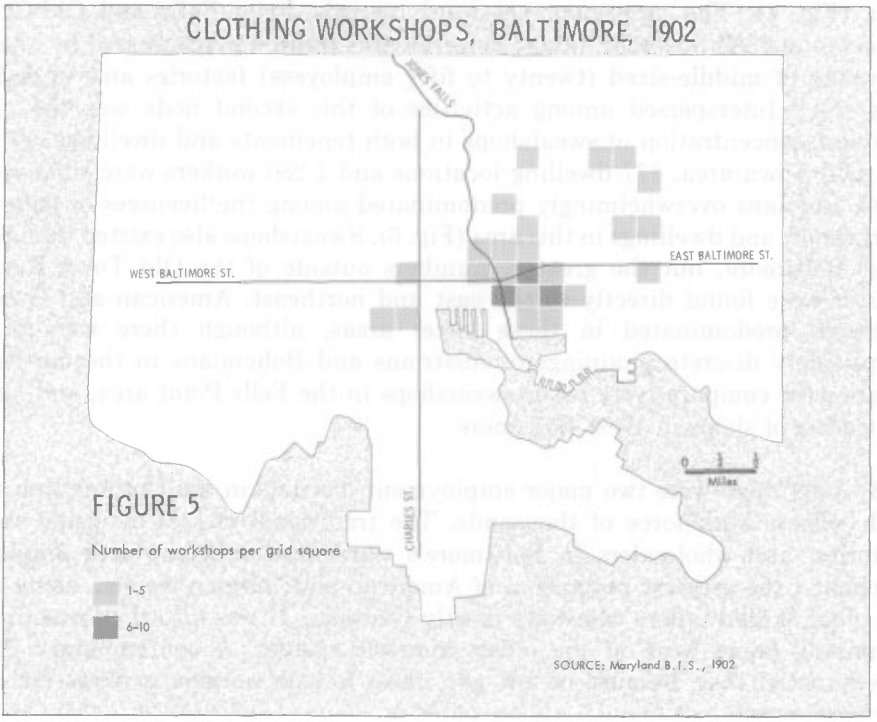
[b]Total is for shops, dwellings and apartments, and all factories.

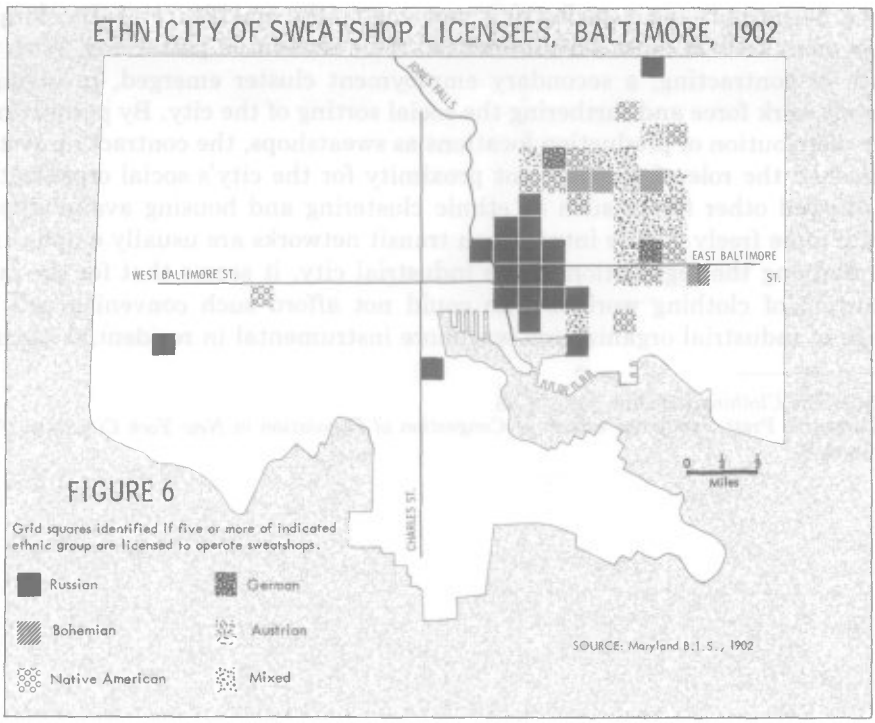
Most manufacturers of other men's items (such as shirts, collars, coat pads, etc.) and women's cloaks also located in this traditional cluster or the surrounding area (Fig. 4). The movement eastward towards Jones Falls and Old Town, detected in 1880, was still intact; however, this trend was buttressed by a larger grouping of middle-sized (twenty to fifty employees) factories and workshops (Fig. 5).[48] Interspersed among activities of this second node was the city's heaviest concentration of sweatshops in both tenements and dwellings. Within the Old Town area, 177 dwelling locations and 1,280 workers were surveyed in 1902. Russians overwhelmingly predominated among the licensees of factories, workshops, and dwellings in this area (Fig. 6). Sweatshops also existed thoughout East Baltimore, but the greatest numbers outside of the Old Town Russian cluster were found directly to the east and northeast. American and German licensees predominated in these latter areas, although there were a few surprisingly discrete groupings of Austrians and Bohemians in the northeast. There were comparatively fewer sweatshops in the Fells Point area, and only a scattering of shops in West Baltimore.

By 1900 there were two major employment districts in the clothing industry, each with a work force of thousands. The traditional cluster of inside shops, factories, and wholesalers in Baltimore's warehouse/workshop area employed (probably) the greatest proportion of American and German women, along with the older skilled tailors who were mostly Germans. It was also the focus for the remaining home work of the older domestic system. A contemporary B.I.S. survey noted that, because of low pay, most female workers in these factories

48. *Eleventh Annual Report*, B.S.I., 1902, pp. 67-94.


CLOTHING FACTORIES, BALTIMORE, 1901-1902*
JONES FALLS
WEST BALTIMORE ST.
EAST BALTIMORE ST.
CHARLES ST.
0 1/2 1 Miles
FIGURE 4
Factories per grid square
5-10
11-20
21-30
Greater than 30
SOURCE: Maryland B.I.S., 1902; Polk Baltimore City Directory, 1901; Sanborn Insurance Maps of Baltimore, 1901.
*Maryland B.I.S. survey's designation of factory included middle-sized (between 20-50 employees) establishments, most of which were located near the Jones Falls.


CLOTHING WORKSHOPS, BALTIMORE, 1902
JONES FALLS
WEST BALTIMORE ST.
EAST BALTIMORE ST.
CHARLES ST.
0 1/2 1 Miles
FIGURE 5
Number of workshops per grid square
1-5
6-10
SOURCE: Maryland B.I.S., 1902



still walked to work.[49] It might be hypothesized, therefore, that with such an employment linkage this focus of so many workers must have still had concentrating effects upon residential selection.

At the same time, the rapid development of small workshops, factories, and dwelling sweatshops under the contracting system resulted in a movement away from the older core in search of cheaper accommodations and proximity to unskilled laborers. Thus, a Russian dominated workshop/sweatshop district emerged in the older commercial buildings of the Jones Falls basin and Old Town. The Russian Jewish contractors and workers of this cluster could capitalize on the pedestrian movement to work as well as the proximity to clothiers. The intervening link of the contractor in the production process permitted not only this separation of workshops from the wholesale manufacturers, but also the location of dwelling sweatshops at considerable distances from the clothing core, for the contractor could expend some of his time on the city's improving public transit connections with the central area while the laborers busied themselves at the sweatshop.[50] In these latter situations, American and German licensees predominated, although the composition of their work force is unknown.

It seems clear that for workers whose jobs depended upon access to a cluster of manufacturers (either in factories or in the putting-out system) and whose

49. *Fourth Annual Report*, B.I.S., 1896, p. 52.

income permitted only a pedestrian movement, the emergence of the clothing employment district must have influenced their residential patterning. With the growth of contracting, a secondary employment cluster emerged, involving a different work force and furthering the social sorting of the city. By permitting a wider distribution of production locations as sweatshops, the contracting system diminished the role of employment proximity for the city's social organization and allowed other forces such as ethnic clustering and housing availability to operate more freely. While intra-urban transit networks are usually emphasized as underlying the segregation of the industrial city, it seems that for the large proportion of clothing workers who could not afford such conveniences[51] the change in industrial organization was more instrumental in residential sorting.

50. Pope, *The Clothing Industry*, pp. 174–75.
51. Edward E. Pratt, *Industrial Causes of Congestion of Population in New York City* (New York, 1911), p. 145.

Politics and Reform: The Dimensions of Baltimore Progressivism

JAMES B. CROOKS

OVER THE PAST TWENTY YEARS, HISTORIANS HAVE PRODUCED A SUBSTANTIAL reinterpretation of American history. A generation ago, the history of women, black Americans, cities, the environment, and technology received little attention in college curricula. Interpretations of major epochs such as the revolutionary era, the Age of Jackson, and Reconstruction have undergone major revision. As a result, students in college today learn quite a different American history from what their parents' generation learned prior to the 1950s. This paper seeks to bridge the gap between the generations, using Baltimore's experience in the Progressive Era as the building materials.

American history textbooks of a generation ago described progressivism as primarily a national reform movement. Its roots lay in midwestern populism attacking the railroads and financiers, and in the work of eastern muckracking journalists like Ida Tarbell and Lincoln Steffens exposing big business and urban political machines. At the state level, La Follette's "Wisconsin Idea" exemplified the best of progressive reform. Nationally progressivism began with Theodore Roosevelt's accession to the presidency in 1901, and it continued through the Wilsonian Era.

On the national scene, TR challenged the "malefactors of great wealth." Initially, he busted trusts, but later he moved to a philosophy of New Nationalism according to which governments regulated railroads, public lands, and big business in the national interest. Wilson's New Freedom differed in theory, but his presidency also endorsed the regulatory role of government in creating the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Trade Commission. A generation ago historians agreed upon the primacy of this national perspective with relatively little emphasis upon urban and state progressivism.[1]

In contrast today's historians have shifted the focus substantially in response to the two great social forces of the era: industrialization and urbanization. The city, for better or worse, became a new frontier of American civilization in the

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1. Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1930); Leland D. Baldwin, *Recent American History* (New York, 1954): Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics* (Lansing, Mich., 1959); Allan Nevins and Henry Steel Commager, *A Short History of the United States* (New York, 1956); John D. Hicks, *The American Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955); Harry J. Carmen and Harold C. Syrett, *A History of the American People* (New York, 1955); and many others.

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In many respects Baltimore typified the era.

In 1900 Baltimore was a major American metropolis of half a million people. Its population included a diverse range of old line Baltimoreans, resident for three or more generations, newer immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, older German, Irish, and British immigrants, Afro-Americans, and migrants to the city from the South and West. People moved to Baltimore in search of jobs, freedom, and opportunity.

Economically, Baltimore was primarily a port city, but it also had major railroads, served as a regional financial center, boasted of a new steel mill at Sparrows Point, and included industries producing clothes, canned goods, tobacco, machine tools, copper, tin, meat packing, printing, and malt liquor. The relatively new department stores downtown attracted shoppers who came by streetcar or carriage from Roland Park, Bolton Hill, or North Charles Street.[2]

Culturally, Baltimore leaders ranged from James Cardinal Gibbons to George Herman "Babe" Ruth. Gibbons was America's leading Roman Catholic churchman. Ruth, pitching for the Orioles, would soon move to Boston and the major leagues. There was also H. L. Mencken writing smart copy for the *Baltimore Herald* and later the *Evening Sun*. The *Sunpapers* ranked with the nation's best newspapers. Similarly, the new Johns Hopkins University stood as one of the nation's outstanding universities. Under President Daniel Gilman, and with Doctors Osler, Kelly, Halsted, and Welch modernizing American medicine at the hospital, the university had a major impact upon the changing city. Also important were the new Walters Gallery, the Peabody Institute, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, and a revitalized Maryland Historical Society shortly to begin publishing the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.[3]

But for most Baltimoreans, these social and cultural treasures were as inaccessible as the moon. For the Russian Jew living in Old Town, the black day laborer, and the youngster working in the sweatshop, Baltimore was quite a different city of crowded tenements, dirty streets, unsanitary food, little or no schooling, long hours of work, sickness, hard times, and little chance of fulfilling the American dream. The depression beginning in 1893 hit these Baltimoreans hardest, and contemporaries estimated an unemployment rate of up to one-third the work force.[4]

Another characteristic of Baltimore in the 1890s was the old political machine run by Isaac Freeman Rasin. He was the link between the businessman seeking favors and the city council and he had the patronage, jobs, and money to persuade voters to regularly re-elect his men to office.[5] Baltimore reform began in an attack upon the corruption of Rasin's boss rule. It spread to a concern for efficiency in city government, and to planning for the future growth of the city. It

2. Eleanor Bruchey, "The Industrialization of Maryland, 1860–1914" in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland, A History 1632–1974* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 408–31, and pp. 488–90.
3. William Lloyd Fox, "Social-Cultural Developments From the Civil War to 1920," in *ibid.*, pp. 557–70, *passim*.
4. Charles Hirschfield, *Baltimore, 1870–1900* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 54–55.
5. James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895–1911* (Baton Rouge, La., 1968), pp. 9–12.

challenged the way businessmen sought special privileges and it became concerned with the health, education, and welfare of almost all Baltimoreans. One major group, however, was excluded: Baltimore's Afro-Americans. As elsewhere in the nation, progressive reform was largely for whites only.

Political reform came first. A handful of Baltimoreans, led by Severn Teackle Wallis, had been challenging the machine since the 1870s. The Civil Service Reform Association and the Baltimore Reform League fought valiantly against the many excesses of boss rule. But their successes were few. They beat back the machine's attempt to take over the city's judicial system in 1882, and they repeatedly challenged the corrupt election practices of the bosses. At the polls, however, the reformers usually lost.

A major victory for the reformers came in 1895, the year after Wallis' death. A coalition consisting of the Baltimore Reform League, Republicans, Democrats independent of the machine, and the media challenged the Democratic organization. They agreed on a textile manufacturer, Alcaeus Hooper, for mayor; exposed the dictatorial manner in which the bosses chose their candidates; publicized the corrupt campaign practices; rallied the voters; and got them to the polls. The reformers won the mayoralty, governorship, and control of the state legislature, but not the city council. The legislature reformed electoral procedures, and the mayor took action to improve the efficiency of city administration. He ignored the Republican politicians in city council on patronage matters, however, and they blocked his renomination in 1897.[6]

That year the Democratic bosses again dictated the party's mayoral candidate, naming John E. Hurst, a local merchant. The Republican party pros picked shipbuilder William T. Malster, a more accommodating candidate. The reformers, with little enthusiasm for either nominee, helped to elect Malster as the lesser of two evils. In office the new mayor did satisfy the party pros on matters of patronage, but he also appointed a nonpartisan commission of leading citizens, business and professional men, who drafted a new city charter to modernize and make more efficient city government. In this step, one sees a major thrust of urban progressivism, viz., the modernization of city government for the sake of efficiency.[7]

By 1899 the Democratic bosses, out of office for two terms, recognized the need to come to terms with the reformers. The reformers, led by Republican Charles J. Bonaparte (later Theodore Roosevelt's secretary of the navy and attorney general), and Democratic businessman William Keyser, a successful iron maker, railroad executive, and copper magnate, formed the New Charter Union to rally support for good-government candidates. The result was the compromise candidacy of Democrat Thomas G. Hayes, acceptable to both groups. For the rest of the progressive era, the machine Democrats and most of the reformers worked together to select competent candidates to become Baltimore's mayor. In 1911 a nucleus of reformers thought James H. Preston was an exception to this rule because of his earlier, rather partisan experiences serving the Democratic machine, but by 1915 Democrats were united in support of his re-election. From

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 27–45, 84–89, 92.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 93–97.

1899 to 1919 Baltimore mayors reflected the enlightened self-interest, realism, and cooperation of reformers and party professionals. Both the bosses and the reformers recognized that half a loaf of whatever was better than none.[8]

Thus by 1900 Baltimoreans had eliminated most of the corrupt electoral practices, limited the power of the Democratic machine, elected mayors committed to honest, efficient, and economical government, and written a new city charter. None of these achievements was necessarily permanent, and the press, particularly Charles Grasty's *Baltimore News*, and to a lesser extent, the *Sunpapers*, watchdogged city politics throughout the era.

There were limitations to reform. In drafting the new charter of 1899 the machine blocked the abolition of the bicameral city council and civil service reform, because both measures would have weakened party control. On the positive side, however, the charter reorganized the school system, modernized the executive branch of city government, limited utility franchises, and thereby reduced partisan political pressures.[9] Besides political and administrative reforms, Baltimore's progressivism also included three other major areas of concern: the changing physical character of the city, government's relations with the business community, and social conditions.

In 1900 Baltimore was the nation's largest city without a sewage system. The malodorous Jones Falls sliced through the city diagonally from northwest to southeast, carrying wastes from factories and homes to the inner harbor. On hot summer days, the smell from the harbor blighted adjacent neighborhoods. In the slums, row houses were divided and subdivided into tiny flats with inadequate light, ventilation, or sanitary facilities. Alley homes in northwest Baltimore where blacks lived were in ramshackle condition with rotted floors, leaky roofs, and no indoor plumbing. The few paved streets were of cobblestones and were noisy, bumpy, and dirty. Schools were old, overcrowded, and often dilapidated. Handsome Mount Vernon Place, Bolton Hill, Druid Park, and the new suburb of Roland Park were oases in a predominantly dirty, ugly city.[10]

Change came gradually, begun through the efforts of Theodore Marburg and the Municipal Art Society. Marburg organized the Municipal Art Society in 1899, the same year his reform colleagues formed the New Charter Union. Initially committed to the City Beautiful concept imported from the Chicago World's Fair, members of the Municipal Art Society subsequently hired consultants to plan a park and boulevard system, lobbied for construction of the sewage system, and enlisted the support of other Baltimoreans in behalf of a coordinated plan for public improvements. Their partial city plan proposed in 1910 led to the creation of a city-wide congress the following year to coordinate physical and social planning for Baltimore.[11]

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8. *Ibid.*, pp. 97–107.
9. Reformers proposed further charter revisions in 1910, but Democrats in the General Assembly blocked them. Civil Service reform eventually came in 1918, and a unicameral council in 1922.
10. United States Bureau of Labor, *Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia*, Seventh Special Report of the Commission of Labor (Washington, 1894); and Janet E. Kemp, *Housing Conditions in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1907).
11. Crooks, *Politics and Progress*, pp. 127–54, *passim*.

In advocating city planning, the Municipal Art Society enlisted support from groups ranging from the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association to the Federation of Labor, neighborhood improvement associations, fraternal organizations, social welfare groups, and both political parties. The only major group excluded was the entire black community, an action typical of the era. Achievements included the passage of eleven of twelve bond referenda for public improvements, construction of Jones Fallsway, a civic center, Key Highway, a park system, and a comprehensive plan for South Baltimore which included sewers, paved streets, elimination of street level railway crossings, and a community center in Federal Park. By American standards, Baltimoreans, both the progressives and the politicians, accomplished much in the coordinated planning of public improvements. In contrast to contemporary European programs of slum clearance, public housing, and zoning, however, Baltimore's progress appears more limited.[12]

One of the most difficult problems confronting the progressives was government's relationship with private enterprise. In Baltimore as in most American cities paving contractors, street car companies, the gas and electric utility, the telephone company, and licensed firms received special privileges from city government. Contracts, licenses, and franchises were granted to favored businessmen in return for political contributions and jobs for the party faithful.

The new city charter provided relief in two areas. The newly created Board of Awards required open competitive bidding on contracts and utility franchises were limited in duration. Yet monopolies such as the Consolidated Gas Company still charged excessive rates and provided poor service. A return to competitive practices, however, was impossible. Under the old system, competition in the distribution of gas meant rival companies ripping up city streets to lay mains. Temporary rate wars were followed by mergers, and then high rates to recoup profits lost during the competitive phase.[13]

The European precedent of municipal socialism attracted a number of American supporters as a solution to the monopolistic utilities. Grasty of the *Baltimore News*, however, found this approach unacceptable based on the American experience with graft-ridden, inefficient municipal government. Eventually Baltimore progressives, like most of their counterparts across the nation, developed the regulatory commission to oversee the utilities. The early years of the Public Service Commission, created in 1910, saw successful suits to reduce gas and electric rates, providing public control over private monopolies serving the public.[14]

Letting contracts also continued to plague progressives throughout the era. Politicians could negotiate bids to benefit cronies, or legislate exceptions to current practices. Franchises might be of limited duration, but their value for tax purposes frequently was contested. Repeatedly, progressive mayors like Barry

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 108–26.
14. *Baltimore News*, February 11, March 12, 1892, February 24 and June 22, 1896. Even the solution of a regulatory Commission was no panacea. In later years governors appointed pro-business commissioners whose decisions profited the utilities at the expense of consumers.

Mahool sought equitable tax assessments on real corporate and personal property, but with limited success. The major source of municipal revenue throughout the progressive era remained the inelastic property tax, and Baltimore's politicians were reluctant to provoke taxpayer opposition by raising rates. The result was to limit resources for municipal programs.

Social reform in Baltimore focused primarily on two overlapping areas: public health and child welfare. Private groups took the lead in publicizing conditions, organizing public opinion, lobbying for legislation, and overseeing the results. Generally, the politicians cooperated once convinced of public support, provided the reforms did not cost too much, and did not step on too many sensitive toes.

Drs. William H. Welch and William Osler of the new Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School sparked the public health and child welfare reforms beginning in the 1890s. They were supported first by the Maryland Public Health Association, later the Maryland Association for the Prevention and Relief of Tuberculosis, and also by various reform groups including the Charity Organization Society, the churches, and women's groups like the Arundel Good Government Club and the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs. The Baltimore Federation of Labor also was supportive as generally were both political parties. The achievements were substantial: an enforceable child labor law, compulsory education, a juvenile court, citywide recreation programs, public baths, governmental programs to combat the dreaded disease of tuberculosis, abolition of sweatshops, pure food and milk laws, and a limited housing code.[15]

Most of the reforms benefited the poor. As Dr. Welch said, the poor suffered more from sickness, child labor, dilapidated housing, lack of recreational facilities, and contaminated food than did other Baltimoreans. Yet other Baltimoreans also benefited, particularly as the poor worked as gardeners, maids, and chauffeurs for the wealthy and could transmit to them their communicable diseases.

Clearly there were limitations to social reform during the era. Businessmen delayed passage of the child labor laws, claiming that work for youngsters was good discipline. Small dairies opposed governmental health standards because the added costs might drive them out of business. City government lacked sufficient funds to implement full programs in health care, recreation, and education. White Baltimoreans discriminated against black Baltimoreans in the housing code and public health reforms. Child care did not include aid to dependent children, as advocated by national progressives like Jane Addams. Unemployment compensation awaited the crisis of the Great Depression and the beginning of the New Deal.[16]

Still urban progressivism involved Baltimore's city government in a range of new responsibilities which foreshadowed the advent of the welfare state in the 1930s. It encouraged increasing numbers of Baltimoreans to respond to the problems of urbanization. This involvement included Baltimore's elite as well as middle-class business and professional people, trade unionists, immigrant groups, and neighborhood associations. Only Baltimore's black population was

15. Crooks, *Politics and Progress*, pp. 155–94, *passim*.
16. *Ibid*.

repeatedly excluded. They, on their own, tried to improve conditions in the ghetto, but their successes were limited due partly to minimal governmental cooperation.

Baltimore's politicians rarely initiated but frequently responded to community pressures for reform. They generally opposed reforms limiting their powers or patronage. They did, however, oppose the powerful Merchants and Manufacturers Association and pass child labor reforms. They were less forceful with regard to taxing the public utility franchises. They tried to disfranchise black voters, and segregated housing and public accommodations. They frequently cooperated with the Federation of Labor, and enacted a minimum wage for municipal employees. They also endorsed women's suffrage. Reflecting the views of most Baltimoreans, they opposed prohibition. Finally, they were reluctant to raise taxes sufficiently to fund health and recreation programs. Their actions generally attempted to represent the plural interests of most white Baltimoreans.

Compared with other American cities, Baltimore's politicians were in the mainstream of progressive reform. The city-wide congress of 1911 was a cooperative effort of reformers, businessmen, politicians, and others to assess urban conditions and propose continuing improvements. Ultimately World War I with its inflation, fresh influx of new migrants, shortages of men and materials, and its drain on leadership ended the era. Baltimore in the progressive era showed a high degree of cooperation between reformers and politicians after 1899 in coping with urban problems. Most of the problems were not permanently resolved, but that reflects the nature of the continually changing process of urbanization.[17]

For today's student of history, Baltimore's experience along with those of other American cities stands as one of the important themes of the progressive era. Reform was not simply the ousting of a corrupt political boss. Instead, reform was a complex movement attempting to come to grips with the realities of a rapidly urbanizing and industrializing nation. It sought to root out corruption between businessmen and politicians, but equally important it tried to rationalize governmental operations in the interest of greater efficiency and economy. It recognized the need to plan future growth. It increased services, partly to ameliorate the conditions of the urban poor. By increasing governmental powers to provide services or curb private excesses, urban progressives pragmatically tried to restore a balance between the private and public sectors of American society. In the process they anticipated the New Deal and the rise of the welfare state.

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17. *Ibid.*, pp. 195–221, *passim*.

Baltimore Views the Great Depression, 1929–33

DAVID LAMOREAUX, WITH
GERSON G. EISENBERG

THIS IS AN EXERCISE IN HISTORY, NOT FROM THE BOTTOM, BUT FROM THE MIDDLE up.[1] The people involved are literate, but they are not necessarily the most prominent members of their community. Though the historical memorabilia they left behind stamps them as unique, they did not share a common perspective; indeed, the very diversity of their opinions suggests that, despite their collective uniqueness, they may well have represented a cross section of the region in which they lived.

The diversity of these people is the subject of this paper. What they shared in common—what made them so unique—was their propensity for corresponding with the editors of the Baltimore *Sun* or Baltimore *Evening Sun*. All of this correspondence eventually appeared in the readers' columns of the Baltimore *Sunpapers* sometime during the presidency of Herbert Hoover, from the stock market crash in October 1929 to the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt on

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1. The history of the Depression has generally been written from the standpoint of the great men and the major events which dominated the news media. This has been true both for the New Deal as well as the period immediately preceding it. Once the stock market crashes, Herbert Hoover appropriates the center of the stage. Like the flawed hero of some ancient Greek tragedy, he suffers the consequences of his own folly. Confident that his policies are responsible for the country's material prosperity, confident in his ability to administer this wealth in the public's best interest, he is ultimately overwhelmed by events he cannot control. Offstage, waiting in the wings, are the palpable symbols of his failure—Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. The apotheosis of this view, of course, is Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919–1933* (Boston, 1957). A good analysis of the historical tradition represented by Schlesinger's work is found in Alfred B. Rollins, Jr., "'Was There Really a Man Named Roosevelt?'" in George Athan Billias and Gerald N. Grob, eds. *American History: Retrospect and Prospect* (New York, 1971). There have been a few attempts to write about the Depression from the standpoint of the average citizen, however. A sympathetic treatment is Caroline Bird, *The Invisible Scar* (New York, 1966). Studs Turkel's *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (New York, 1970) is a fascinating exercise in historical reconstruction, assembled from a series of interviews conducted during the late sixties. Irving Bernstein has ably summarized the effects of the Depression on the working class in *The Lean Years* (Boston, 1960). The most interesting contemporary account is Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (New York, 1937).

March 4, 1933. All of it dealt in one way or another with the gathering economic storm which eventuated in the Great Depression.[2]

Most of these letters concentrated on narrow economic issues. In addition, however, certain issues (such as prohibition) that had been widely discussed before the crash were now invested with economic significance. On the one hand, these issues served as microcosms of the Depression itself, often becoming indistinguishable from it in the minds of many of the letter writers. On the other hand, they provided a common base for the disputants—a series of focal points around which diverse points of view congealed. The successive rise and demise of these issues reflect a gradual shift in public opinion over the three and a half years encompassed by this study—not shared by everyone, of course, but by enough of the letter writers to comprise a significant trend. Summed up in a phrase, popular sentiment increasingly blamed government rather than business as the Depression became more severe.[3]

What first emerges from the columns of the *Sunpapers* in the days immediately following the collapse of the stock market is an evocation of the crash as an inevitable by-product of economic concentration: inevitable not in the sense of an impersonal and predestined necessity, but as a result of the opportunities and temptations which inevitably beset those in positions of power and authority. In all of this the government played no active role, either in fostering the crisis or in attempting to prevent it. Both President Hoover and the Congress were widely regarded as helpless third parties, and the crash was represented solely as the work of powerful speculators who manipulated the market at will. Most thought that the crash had been carefully engineered to bilk an unsuspecting public, and that it had been carried out with consummate skill. Others were convinced its true purpose lay in ruining a new and formidable group of rivals who threatened the hegemony of the established financiers. Whatever the motive, however, business control of the system was to blame for the crash. Businessmen—especially big businessmen—were thought to wield more influence at every level of American society than any other class of people.

On the local level, a similar set of attitudes prevailed: the power of business and weakness of government were reflected in the daylight savings controversy, which began (in the *Sunpapers*, at least) in February 1930. Generally speaking the business class in Baltimore favored daylight savings, while the working class

2. The Baltimore *Afro-American* was also researched for these years, but its emphasis on civil rights issues, as well as its weekly publication schedule, made it impossible to obtain an adequate supply of data.

3. Little has been written on this aspect of Baltimore's history. The best treatments are Charles M. Kimberly, "The Depression in Maryland: The Failure of Voluntaryism," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70 (Summer 1975): 189–202; and Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland Between the Wars," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 730–59. The political situation in Baltimore during the Depression is described in Edwin Rothman, "Factional Machine-Politics: William Curran and the Baltimore City Democratic Party Organization, 1929–1946" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1950), though it is difficult to guage popular discontent from a study of political intrigue. Gerald W. Johnson, Frank R. Kent, H. L. Mencken, and Hamilton Owens have written a highly readable account of *The Sunpapers of Baltimore, 1837–1937* (New York, 1937), but with little feeling for or interest in the *Sunpapers*' readership.

was opposed to it. Businessmen pointed out that New York and Philadelphia had adopted it, and that Baltimore would have to follow suit if local affairs were to be coordinated with those of other major centers of commerce. Workers argued that they would effectively lose an hour of sleep each night because their houses would not cool off sufficiently during the longer evenings. Besides, they charged, daylight savings had actually been devised to afford businessmen an extra round of golf after work. Originally introduced on an "experimental" basis by interested businessmen without benefit of law, the political implications of this move were not lost on the average working man. When daylight savings was finally defeated at the polls, businessmen continued to adhere to it on a voluntary basis, a situation which the referendum itself did not specifically prohibit. "All in all, business is making a splendid success of directing a new trend in this country," commented one angered worker, "—the trend of living without legislation."[4]

During the spring and summer of 1930, however, the *Sunpapers* readership gradually redefined its attitude toward business, and the vehicle of this shift in opinion was the tariff debate. The signing of the Smoot-Hawley tariff on June 17, 1930, by no means extinguished the controversy: it simmered over the next couple of years, periodically reassessed in the light of intervening events. From these discussions emerged a more intricate view of the relationship between business and government, and of the issues involved in the formulation of public policy. This was especially true for readers of *The Sun*, where the low tariff had always been an editorial cause célèbre—in part for philosophical reasons, in part because Baltimore as a port city had a vested interest in free trade. Too, *The Sun* was read by a goodly number of Maryland farmers, who had traditionally (and vocally) attacked the tariff as class legislation—an industrial boondoggle.

Initially businessmen were held responsible for the law's passage, a situation from which there appeared to be little recourse. "[Y]ou cannot expect Mr. Hoover to oppose the small coterie of gentlemen called the 'big interests,' who have been and still are spending fortunes to elect Republican Presidents, Senators and Congressmen, and who practically own, body and soul, the legislators of our great republic,"[5] declared Bernard Moses. But once Hoover voluntarily signed the tariff, placing his stamp of approval on it, he was attacked as if he had initiated the measure himself. Furthermore, the tariff's flexibility provision, which allowed the president (within certain Congressionally imposed limitations) to revise the schedule of rates, was popularly seen as a means of promoting the interests of big business, rather than of restraining them as Hoover himself insisted. Increasingly the federal government was blamed for policies which had been only recently attributed to business. "The Republican party for years, through higher and higher tariffs," has debarred "the people from the enjoyment and use of the products of other countries,"[6] observed Tom Moore, shortly after the bill was signed. Nowhere did he mention the promptings of interested businessmen.

That the Smoot-Hawley tariff would be viewed as a major cause of the

4. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, April 29, 1930.
5. Baltimore *Sun*, June 18, 1930.
6. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1930.

Depression was perhaps inevitable in the first half of 1930, since both issues achieved prominence simultaneously. The tariff reduced trade, and the reduction of trade restricted the ability of the economy to expand—so argued the readers of the *Sunpapers*. Even before the bill had been signed into law, one free trader claimed that "It has already by its influence tended to shut off foreign markets, and is the chief cause of the present unemployment through the restriction of our industrial output."[7] "[I]t will grow grass on the docks of Baltimore," warned another.[8] Industrial support for the measure was well understood as a natural (if egregious) expression of self-interest. With the revelations between March and December of 1930 that Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon had refunded billions of dollars in back taxes to wealthy citizens, however, the tariff was seen in a new light. On the one hand, the government manifested a solicitous regard for the welfare of the rich and the powerful. On the other, it required a source of income. "The tariff revision law," suggested "A Man in Overalls," was an "indefensible form of indirect taxation, shifting the burden of cost of government to the backs of the farmers and working people, who can least afford it."[9] In this way, government as well as business came to share a responsibility for the Depression.

That a restrictive tariff could have been viewed by so many people as a major cause of their material problems implied a widespread belief that continued economic growth and expansion would cure the Depression. Another limitation to growth and expansion was prohibition—hence the swelling calls for its repeal. Based on hard contemporary evidence this strategy was absurd: while repeal might well have created brewery-related jobs, provided an additional source of tax revenue, and reduced government expenses (thereby easing the drain on the hard-pressed taxpayer), other countries were experiencing similar economic disruptions without benefit of prohibition. The real reason why prohibition became such a hotly contested issue, aside from the fact that a once recognized freedom had been unequivocally withdrawn, was that it epitomized the felt relationship between the Depression, American business, and the federal government.

The crucial figure here was Al Capone. Though people feared and hated him, there was also an undercurrent of admiration—as for one who succeeds under circumstances of extreme adversity. More important, however, he symbolized in the popular imagination the transformation of the American businessman from industrial statesman to racketeer. Capone's illegal activities were described in terms usually reserved for legitimate business. By eliminating waste, promoting efficiency, and imposing a rigorous discipline on his subalterns, he turned his bootlegging empire into an example of verticle monopoly. Extended comparisons were drawn between Capone and John D. Rockefeller, much to the latter's disadvantage; these discussions served to deflate the reputations of businessmen who had been regarded as titans during the prosperity of the twenties, but were now thought to be scoundrels or worse. One reader snidely remarked that boot-

7. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1930.
8. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1930.
9. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1930.

leggers were the only businessmen in America who had not turned to the federal government for assistance to weather the economic storm.[10] Others, however, were convinced that bootleggers had only been more successful in extracting political favors.

As in the case of the tariff, attention gradually shifted away from the business community to the government as the source of the problem. At first, businessmen and bootleggers were generally thought to be in cahoots with one another, with the government as merely an instrument of their will. Our country is supposed to be a democracy, wrote one angry citizen, but "it is much more corrupt than any monarchy of old. It is not run by the people nor for the people, but by the bootlegger bosses and the big business men and for themselves. Boss Tweed and his ring were amateurs."[11] Gradually the government assumed a more malevolent aspect in the controversy; it became a positive force with interests of its own. This was especially true during spells when the government appeared to be stepping up its enforcement efforts, to which many ascribed the growing economic crisis. "The liquor interests, far from trying to lead people to believe the law should not be, work hand in hand with the drys, and vote to keep the law on the books," alleged "J. W. H." "They are allies, their interests are the same—good paying jobs and graft."[12]

This shift in public opinion discloses a general hostility to the perceived extension of federal authority—just as it had on the issue of the tariff. The widespread use of the term "Volsteadism" (after the enforcement act) to describe prohibition indicates that opposition to the law involved not only the question of alcohol and its availability, but the expansion of federal police powers as well. The symbols of this expansion were the prohibition agents whose job it was to prevent the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. No one had a good word to say about them; even many of the drys looked askance at their activities. It is quite possible that the resulting fear and hostility initially discouraged many Baltimore-area residents from turning to the federal government in order to help resolve their economic problems, and partially explains the extent of resistance to the idea of federal intervention even in the face of widespread dislocation and suffering. At the time it seemed reasonable to assume, as the government was already interfering in the normal everyday workings of the economy via the prohibition amendment, that this was the source of the problem.

Opposition to the centralization of political power in the hands of the federal government, moreover, had long been an article of faith to the *Sunpapers'* editorial staff and its readership. Reared on the precepts of Jeffersonian democracy, editors and readers alike manifested a tendency to interpret the Depression in moral rather than in strictly economic terms. "Volsteadism" symbolized a rejection of the traditional Jeffersonian notion of personal liberty based on self-control and the substitution of controls imposed from above. From this perspective, the repeal of prohibition represented a desire to return to what were collectively regarded as the fundamental values of the nation.

10. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, December 29, 1931.
11. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1929.
12. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1930.

Government, accordingly, was viewed as a political institution in the strictest sense of the term. It ought to have nothing at all to do with the world of business—indeed, it was the felt propensity of the government to meddle in economic affairs which had turned the *Sunpapers* readership against it on the issue of the tariff. In this way of thinking, the responsibility of the government in the Depression was evident. Above all else, the government had to balance its budget and refrain from engaging in any activities which would work against market forces. Some of the more conservative readers, for instance, implied that the repeal of prohibition would decentralize alcohol-retail operations, which would not only create more jobs, but reverse the trend toward economic concentration personified by men like Capone.

Those who shared this point of view now rendered it into a general explanation of the Depression's severity. The Depression, they argued, was a normal cyclical downturn of the economy, compounded by the rapid growth of Big Government. Instead of letting nature take its course and allowing wages and prices to drop in response to overproduction, government had prevailed upon employers to maintain their wage and price levels. Rather than cut their prices, then, employers responded by reducing their labor forces as inventories grew, throwing more people out of work. At this point government contravened the laws of the market place once again by assuming ultimate responsibility for the relief effort, which had become necessary in order to cope with the increased numbers of unemployed. Taxes were raised or maintained at pre-Depression rates, further eroding the purchasing power of the ordinary citizen. In this way government seemed forever to be transgressing market forces and exacerbating the Depression at the same time. Instead, ran the argument, government should be operated as a business concern. "The first thing any business management does, when a depression comes upon it, is to cut its overhead to a point that will meet the issue," reasoned G. D. Neavitt. "But our Government . . . reverses good business procedure and proposes to increase its overhead as the depression increased . . . . "[13]

Notice Neavitt's emphasis on the word "Government." This was not an uncommon complaint, even in 1933—that the government had become too big, and too powerful, and too meddlesome. But there was another (and related) complaint which gradually overshadowed it, especially after the tariff controversy of 1930—that President Hoover was not doing enough to stem the tide of economic collapse. The government does too much, Hoover does too little—so ran the conventional litany of protest. In part this ambiguity can be explained in terms of government policy, which appeared to favor the interests of the rich and the powerful. But it also reveals an increasingly ambivalent attitude to the place and function of government in American life: on the one hand, a traditional fear of the extension of governmental authority; on the other, an emerging view of the state as a last resort in the midst of national calamity. A powerful president was not to be feared half so much as a new set of federal institutions, for a president would ultimately pass from the scene, and the basis of his authority with him.

13. Baltimore *Sun*, January 5, 1933.

But an ever more powerful organization—this, even in the desperate straits of 1933, was something to the avoided.

The controlling emotion here was a fear of creating any new—or strengthening any existing—bureaucracies, especially at the federal level. Letter writers did not want to risk this even for the duration of the crisis, for fear that they would become permanent fixtures later on; from their point of view, government had already expanded remarkably during the twenties, and the attendant increase in taxes was part of the problem. In any event, the major line of defense in the emergency should be local government. "[I]n the move to assist . . . sufferers," wrote B. I. Bickers, "a survey should be made by the counties and the first help should come from the counties, and then from the State . . . before asking the Federal Government for help."[14] Other existing local and national institutions might be pressed into service, however. In Baltimore itself many people looked to the police to distribute relief money, on the assumption that "they really know where it is most needed," but also because "It is all done gratis—no swell dinners or highly paid clerks."[15] In many eyes the Red Cross represented the most felicitous compromise between the need to support relief efforts and the fear of creating or strengthening government bureaucracies in the process: the government would make a direct grant of money to the Red Cross, which in turn would distribute it to the needy.

Perhaps the best example of this fear of bureaucracy was Self-Denial Day, held in Baltimore on March 27, 1931. As Charles Kimberly has described it, "citizens were asked to deny themselves a desired item and use the money instead as a contribution to the needy. Ballot boxes were set out in stores, movies, library branches, and on street corners. At noon church bells rang and firehouse whistles sounded as a signal for people to drop their contributions into the ballot boxes."[16] Letters in both the *Sunpapers* celebrated its success, and contrasted it favorably with the Community Fund, which allegedly involved high overhead costs and a cumbersome chain of command.

Self-Denial Day reflected a hostility not only to bureaucracies in the abstract, but to the people who staffed them. The whole period under review is increasingly characterized by a concerted and vituperative campaign carried on in the readers' forums of the *Sunpapers* against politicians and public servants. "The recent great increase of high-priced, fixed-salaried, tax-eating, non-producing, law-enforcement office-holders, who so tax-burden and hinder all other industries, that all are stagnated and suffering, should first be remedied,"[17] raged a Hagerstown farmer. The adjectives used here are significant: not only did the policies of government officials violate the precepts of laissez faire, the very existence of these officials violated them as well. Because their incomes were fixed, their wages did not fluctuate in unison with the business cycle; hence they appeared to have successfully insulated themselves from the vicissitudes of the market place, a situation reinforced by the continual drop in prices. The

14. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1931.
15. *Ibid.*, December 20, 1930.
16. Kimberly, "The Depression in Maryland," p. 193.
17. Baltimore *Sun*, June 8, 1931.

bitterness with which these people were attacked suggests the latent envy of the average taxpayer who supported them. The taxpayer resented the financial security which civil service employment seemed to offer because financial security had become uppermost in his mind.

As the Depression deepened, and as private and local relief efforts proved inadequate, letter writers were forced to turn increasingly to the federal government for assistance, whether they wished to do so or not. Some rationalized this shift in opinion by casting it in anti-bureaucratic terms. A letter published in *The Sun* early in February 1933 perfectly captured the new attitude: "Pensions and the dole would eliminate at one stroke our cumbersome and degrading charity organizations through which the most needy are the least served."[18] Previously people had insisted that government intervention would create cumbersome bureaucracies and demean those it was designed to help. Now it would simplify the welter of conflicting and inadequate charity organizations which had grown up in its stead, a process hastened by the Red Cross' refusal to accept any more than nominal responsibility for charity work.

Just as the government became a credible alternative in the relief efforts, so government ownership and control of critical industries and services were increasingly seen as a means of reviving the economy and eventually of escaping the depredations of the Depression altogether. The effects of this shift in public opinion can be clearly seen, for example, in the ongoing debate on the wisdom of repealing the prohibition amendment. Gradually, and under the press of economic necessity, men of more progressive bent began using the issue of repeal as a vehicle for discussing the relationship of government to business. The alcohol trade, like business in general, had created certain problems which demonstrated the need for increased government intervention in the economy. Should the government assume control of the liquor industry and run it as it had the railroads during World War I? Should it confine itself to ownership and operation of the dispensaries? Or was government regulation sufficient? This new acceptance of federal authority did not mean that hostility to the government decreased during this later period—it certainly did not—but it increasingly derived as much from impatience at government foot-dragging as it did from extension of government powers.

There was, however, another and ultimately more important reason for turning to the federal government. If any broad conclusion can be drawn from the variety of opinion found in the *Sunpapers*, it is that letter writers viewed the Depression from the standpoint of their own particular interest groups. This was not so true in the period immediately after the stock market crash, when hostility was generally directed against the rich and the powerful. The tariff dispute and the daylight savings controversy were good examples of issues fought out primarily on a class basis, with the business elite as the object of general outrage. But by mid August 1930 positions had started to fragment along interest-group lines. First the farmers, and then—during the fall—the taxpayers began to demand special concessions for themselves. Farm protest was aggravated by the summer

18. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1933.

drought, which further prostrated an already depressed rural economy. Discussion of the proposed 1931 municipal budget galvanized taxpayers into action.

It was not long before interest groups proliferated around every conceivable point of conflict. It has already been pointed out that taxpayers objected to the salaries of politicians and public officals, which were thought to be exempt from the vagaries of the business cycle. In response, civil servants argued that they had not shared in the general prosperity of the twenties in the same proportion as those privately employed, and should not be asked to sacrifice now. Consumers wanted merchants to lower their prices, while merchants claimed "the consumer gets more today for his dollar than ever before . . . ."[19] The unemployed joined in assailing women jobholders, while women in their turn defended their right to work.[20] Farmers, who had originally pursued their traditional policy of attacking middlemen, turned their attention to the problem of obtaining tax relief once they had lost the tariff fight. Public servants became in their eyes what middlemen had been before—a parasitical class which absorbed the farmers' rightful earnings.

A particularly prominent example of interest-group activity was the veterans' bonus movement. Veterans—and this is generally true of all interest groups—did not view themselves an an interest group per se, whose demands had to be granted at the expense of others. Instead, they tended to focus on the alleged denial of equal opportunity to which they had been subjected as a result of their war service. In their eyes, those who remained at home had received an unfair advantage or head start in the race for success, and so, when the Depression came, were better able to withstand it. Taxpayers, of course, interpreted this stand as a claim for special favors, which were demanded at a time of general economic hardship. Highly organized, veterans proved successful in forcing legislation through Congress, a fact which encouraged further interest-group activity. Others were persuaded to turn to the federal government as the only institution capable of placing restrictions on the activities of interest groups. This was especially true during the period of the bonus march.

As people became more preoccupied with interest-group politics, they looked back on the tariff in a new light. More than anything else, the tariff seemed an object lesson in interest-group politics. As George Bond Cochran pointed out, "It is always more difficult to enact lower tariff rates than higher . . . . [L]egislators are aided and encouraged and driven on by local selfishness."[21] To the *Sunpapers* readership, Congress itself became the ultimate arena of interest-group politics. In their view, Congress' energies were continually dissipated in serving a variety of competing interests, resulting either in total inaction or in greasing the palms

19. *Ibid.*, September 10, 1930.

20. "I believe that all married men should start a war on the women who are keeping them and millions of other married men out of work," sputtered a "Regular Reader Out of Work" (Baltimore *Evening Sun*, November 17, 1931). Women, however, were equally bitter. "In periods of business depression, the first thing Mr. Business Man does to reduce his overhead is to cut the salaries of his women employes [sic]. The excuse is the old sob stuff about men having families to support . . ." (Baltimore *Sun*, November 22, 1930). As "One of Them" pointed out, however, women often had dependents of their own.

21. Baltimore *Sun*, April 28, 1931.

of highly paid lobbyists. "If our President and Congress would stop talking about farmers, veterans, jobholders, drys, wets, bankers and union labor and consider all the above as citizens first and farmers, veterans, etc., second, we would really get somewhere!"[22] counseled an angry F. S. Silver. Others reached different conclusions, convinced they too could successfully emulate interest-group techniques.

No matter where one stood on the problem of interest groups, however, the government represented the only institution capable of bringing order out of chaos. Left to himself, the ordinary, unorganized citizen could not hope to change his situation; at the same time he felt threatened by groups hostile to his own security. Few of the letter writers mentioned the possibility of increasing the size of the economic pie, or of coordinating the activities of various groups with each other. Many of those who found it difficult to organize themselves (as well as many of those who didn't) ultimately turned to the government in hopes of finding an honest broker to smooth over the differences among the competing groups by actively promoting compromise and agreement.[23] The object was to place limitations on each interest group for the benefit of everyone else, and ultimately for the benefit of the group itself. Government coordination of interest-group demands would ameliorate the harsh competititon of groups attempting to provide for themselves, thus reducing the general level of social tension. Evidently what everyone was searching for was some kind of peace settlement, in which no one would get everything he wanted, but everyone would gain something. Conflict had to be avoided at all cost.

As a frequent contributor to *The Evening Sun* pointed out, "Farmers will not reduce production to consumption need, neither will the factory nor public education"[24] limit their operations—at least not of their own accord. Seen in this light, interest groups often worked at cross-purposes to their own true interests, but in the absence of regulation could not do otherwise. This is best seen in the case of the farmers. As W. S. Addison remarked:

> Having been a farmer and having been associated with a farmers' marketing organization, it became apparent to me that the farmer's greatest need was an organization with powers and ability to market his product in an orderly way. A farmer, usually hard pressed by creditors, forces his product on the market regardless of price.
>
> The Government is the only source of help for the farmer, because he will not organize voluntarily to help himself. The National Government must set up an organization . . . .[25]

In the case of industry, business had responded to the Depression by reducing its labor force, which in turn reduced the public's ability to consume. The solution to this problem, argued P. F. McDonald, "can only be accomplished by a

22. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, June 7, 1932.
23. John Braeman has dealt with the "broker state" theme in recent New Deal historiography in "The New Deal and the 'Broker State:' A Review of the Recent Scholarly Literature," *Business History Review*, 46 (Winter 1972): 409–29.
24. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, February 3, 1933.
25. Baltimore *Sun*, January 19, 1933.

Federal law decreasing the hours of labor so that all can be employed. This will never be done voluntarily by industry—people who so advocate are either ignorant or passing the buck."[28] Reduction of hours, which seemed to be the most popular remedy to the Depression from labor's point of view, would benefit workers by eliminating unemployment. By maximizing the capacity of the public to spend, it would benefit businessmen as well.

The popularity of Franklin Roosevelt stemmed in large part from his willingness to give voice to the competing demands of these various constituencies. Roosevelt was able to express the frustrations of the farmer, the worker, and the small businessman without creating the impression of conflict. No one seemed to notice the contradictions in his program because everyone wanted so desperately to believe in its viability, in the possibility of an imposed settlement. It is true that the Democratic Party was regarded as a hodgepodge of interest groups: it "is not a real party, after all," argued "J. G. N." "It is, in fact, a collection of all the 'outs' who, being against the party in power, collect under the Democratic banner."[27] But Roosevelt himself was able to overcome this handicap: he "will truckle to no interest or special group,"[28] *The Sun* was assured by one of his supporters. The man who quoted a Tammany district leader to the effect that "He tries to be all things to all men"[29] did not understand that this was precisely the source of Roosevelt's appeal, that in his very generosity he was viewed as a man who would not favor some interests over others. Hoover, on the other hand, was never able to shake his image as a man who was "opposed to any and all relief programs except to the big financial interests . . . ."[30]

What basis was there for the belief that the government was capable of reconciling the sundry demands of the interest groups? The crucial experience here appears to have been the First World War. On the one hand, it was associated with a general diffusion of prosperity and security for the great mass of American citizens. "Making supplies for war gave all the American and European people who were not killed in the war plenty to do and plenty of profits," remarked "No Star Daddy." "I know from personal experience there was no unemployment while we were making war material and products in this country."[31] On the other hand, it represented much of what Americans had come to dislike about their society in the postwar era, specifically, the centralizing powers of the federal government (the war, after all, was the one example in recent American history when the government had assumed a central role in the economy). During the Depression, however, these two aspects of the war coalesced in the public's mind, so that prosperity became associated with centralization. Given their traditional Jeffersonian bias, the perception of this relationship by a growing number of letter writers created a situation of extraordinary ambivalence. Yet, by the end of Hoover's presidency people were

26. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, December 15, 1932.
27. Baltimore *Sun*, December 19, 1931.
28. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1932.
29. *Ibid.*, February 18, 1933.
30. *Ibid.*, October 26, 1932.
31. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1931.

increasingly suggesting solutions to the crisis based on their recollection of government intervention in the economy during the First World War. Measures similar to those passed in wartime were viewed as a compromise between an unregulated system based on private profit and a communistic system based on total regimentation. The war, in short, provided the only known means of coping with crisis, though it required those who opted for it to modify their political principles in favor of increased centralization.

Even at the time of the crash the war had played an important symbolic role in popular thinking. At first, however, it was not viewed as a model for policy but rather as a watershed which had in many ways reoriented American custom. Some letter writers saw it in largely negative terms—as an event which had changed America beyond recognition, changed her so dramatically, in fact, that anything resembling "normalcy" appeared altogether beyond her grasp. Others were more positive, viewing it as the spiritual culmination of American life, from which all subsequent events represented a falling away (this view was particularly favored by hard-core Democrats). The villians of this piece were Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, who collectively symbolized "a collapse of statesmanship and leadership"[32] for having succumbed to (indeed, abetted) postwar disillusion at the expense of national ideals. In either case, the past assumed a mythic aspect. The years before the First World War came to be regarded as a kind of golden age, during which America had remained wholly aloof from Europe, wholly free of foreign contamination. As a result of her contact with the Continent during the war, however, she had exposed herself to the contagions of European culture. In consequence the country experienced a period of moral decay (loosely referred to as "the twenties"), adopting in the form of the Eighteenth Amendment the prevailing European conception of social order (as something imposed on men from above, rather than—in good Jeffersonian typology—as something "natural" to them) and sacrificing the spiritual purity of her national faith by assimilating the values of European materialism. Another theme (an amalgam of the two preceding ones) was the conversion of America into a class society, the war having encouraged the concentration and unequal distribution of wealth. By these standards, the Depression constituted a judgment on the nation's apostasy.

Those who accepted this judgment tended to view the Depression as somehow an extension of tendencies associated with the war. The war had overstimulated the economy, laying the basis for a prosperity which was artificial and which could not be sustained for very long after the war's close. The cooperation between business and government which had characterized the war effort had been extended by Republican presidents in the absence of wartime necessity, fostering concentration and the release of business from its social obligations —such as its duty to pay taxes. "The maddening destructive rush of the 'great World War' immensely increased the number of wages of all Government employes [*sic*]...."[33] As a result, Americans were now taxed beyond their

32. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, October 21, 1932.
33. Baltimore *Sun*, March 26, 1932.

capacity to pay, a condition which effectively prevented them from achieving their own recovery. According to James Bordley, Jr., machinery introduced during the war "to take the place of conscripted man power" was responsible for the "excess of unemployed" which marked the Depression.[34] And "A Subscriber" claimed that "The reason why there is such a large number of unemployed men is that so many women are now holding positions which they took when our men were in the World War, even though they are married now."[35]

As one might expect, the question of the European war debts was a constant thorn in the side of these Americans, indicating the extent to which Europe had become a scapegoat for America's problems. Some letter writers wanted simply to cancel the debts altogether, hoping thereby to encourage trade and end the Depression. Others who urged cancellation did so only in order to get the matter behind them once and for all. Tired of the controversy, they wanted to cut themselves off from Europe entirely, and resented the extension of a conflict which by all rights should have ended in 1918. Those who insisted on collection, on the other hand, tended to view Europe as the source of America's economic problems. In either case, Europe's failure to make good on her debts was seen as evidence of moral failure, and the whole war debt issue, as viewed by the readers of the *Sunpapers*, reflected a desire to maintain America's unique sense of innocence in relation to Europe at a time when that uniqueness was increasingly less self-evident. While Europeans might refer to the United States as Uncle Shylock, Americans were being played anew as Uncle Sucker—still essentially innocent.[36] This was an especially difficult concept for Americans to maintain in the Depression, since they had traditionally thought of themselves as happily immune from the kind of widespread and unrelieved suffering which characterized life in the early thirties. As letter writers who traveled in Europe pointed out, however, the Depression seemed to have hit the U. S. as hard—if not harder—than the Continent.

A more ambivalent attitude toward America's wartime experience, specifically to the domestic consequences of the war, is reflected in the controversy over U. S.-Soviet relations. The prevailing conception of social life in the Soviet Union was essentially that of a society organized along military lines (it was a society, after all, which had come into being during the war). "Ever since the close of the World War Russia has been actively engaged in turning the country into a huge military camp," claimed "R. E. L., Jr." "Communism and military service have been forced upon the people."[37] This impression derived much of its force as well as its specific content from the transformation of the federal government during the war. The fear and hostility which Soviet Russia aroused in many readers was in part a projection of their political dissatisfaction at home. That is, the centralizing tendencies associated with the war were identified with Bolshevism, in order to dissociate them from American life. The fact that this dissociation was effected, on the other hand, may well have made it easier to accept these

34. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, November 29, 1932.
35. *Ibid.*, August 21, 1930.
36. Baltimore *Sun*, November 30, 1932.
37. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, August 18, 1930.

tendencies of domestic centralization, so long as they were relatively less pronounced. Certainly *Sun* readers tended to exaggerate the efficiency with which the Russian experiment was being carried out. "A Unit" predicted "The Russian standard of living may soon be higher than the much-praised American standard, because the Russian people are beginning to work as an organized body, and not as individuals who exploit one another."[38] The extent to which American businessmen were genuinely disturbed by reports of Russian economic potential belied the strident attitude of confidence which they customarily exuded on the subject of the free market economy. This perhaps constituted an implicit admission on their part—despite their rhetoric—of the advantages they associated with government regulation of the economy.

While the war symbolized a fall from grace, then, it also provided a model for dealing with domestic crisis. Whenever it seemed desirable to prove that economic relief could be organized successfully by the government, the war or the army were always pointed to as shining examples of federal competence. Some readers made specific suggestions based on wartime precedent. Reinstitution of the draft would decrease unemployment, while floatation of a new issue of Liberty bonds would provide funds for public works. The President might be invested with extraordinary powers, enabling him to take "over all productive machinery, as is done in war times,"[39] or to declare martial law in order to guarantee the operation of critical services. Military camps might be set up along the lines of the Citizens Military Training Camps that functioned during the war. This type of solution was especially appealing, because the army was viewed as a model of steady, useful, but non-productive work—hence a prototype for solving the simultaneous problems of unemployment and overproduction.

Even the wartime monetary policies came to be looked on with favor. Recalled one "Merchant":

> We remember the great inflation of the war and we remember that we all had money. Maybe not as good money; certainly it would not buy as much, but we all had it, which is more than we can say now. We know that the manufacturer had plenty of credit and plenty of money to employ workers and pay them well. We remember that the merchant had plenty of money to buy goods and keep the handlers and the transportation men busy. We remember that the mechanic and the laborer had money enough to live on, even at the inflated prices, and something over.
>
> We remember that the great majority had what was called a "specious" and "adventitious" prosperity, and how they loved it. It was, indeed, hard on the small minority who lived on fixed incomes from estates and invested funds—invested in static dollar securities, that is. Those who had real estate, commodities or "things" shared the general prosperity. It was hard for some while on the larger minority who worked for salaries, but these also progressed upward. But the great, the vast majority certainly enjoyed the cheap dollar.[40]

38. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1930.
39. Baltimore *Sun*, June 10, 1932.
40. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, February 23, 1932.

This tendency to view the Depression in terms of wartime experience—a tendency which developed before the election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932—provided a climate of opinion which Roosevelt was able to exploit on assuming the presidency. More than anything else, it allowed him to mobilize the resources of the country in a way that Americans had previously accepted only in time of general hostilities. But Roosevelt was not merely riding the crest of a wave: he and his advisors persistently used the "analogue of war" as a metaphor to describe their solutions to the crisis, molding public opinion to their way of thinking.[41] Perhaps the best example of a war-derived solution to the Great Depression was the National Industrial Recovery Act—"the keystone of the early New Deal"—which "wove together a series of schemes for government-business co-ordination of the kind that had prevailed in the war."[42] Essentially it was based on the experience of the War Industries Board, which had regulated economic activity during the First World War. As Ellis Hawley has pointed out, however, the NIRA was merely "a piece of enabling legislation, a law that gave the President unprecedented peacetime powers to reorganize and regulate an obviously ailing and defective business system. There was no definite prescription as to just what course this reorganization and regulation would take."[43] Yet the very vagueness of this act accounted for its initial popularity, for it accommodated the traditional reservations against—as well as the felt necessity for—government intervention in the economy to promote compromise and agreement among interest groups. In this sense, the act never resolved (and was never meant to resolve) the debate over political centralization, although the expectation that it would at least hold the conflict in abeyance may help account for its ultimate failure. Much of the subsequent history of the New Deal consists in further attempts to resolve this crucial problem, a dilemma prefigured in Baltimore's reaction to the Great Depression and the special role that Franklin D. Roosevelt played in that national economic crisis.

41. See also William E. Leuchtenburg, "The New Deal and the Analogue of War," which appears in John Braeman *et al.*, *Change and Continuity in Twentieth-Century America* ([Columbus]), 1964), pp. 81–143.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
43. Ellis W. Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly* (Princeton, 1966), pp. 19–20.

The Last of the Good Old Days: Politics in Baltimore, 1920–1950

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD

My major purpose in this preliminary glance at Baltimore politics in the post-progressive era is to assess what effect, if any, the great reforms of 1895–1918 had on the political structure of the city, in the hope that it will shed a bit more light on the ultimate meaning of urban progressivism. On the surface it appears correct to say that progressive reforms in Maryland did end classic-style bossism as embodied in the famous Rasin-Gorman machine. Neither Sonny Mahon, Frank Kelly, William Curran, Howard Jackson, nor Jack Pollack approached old boss I. Freeman Rasin in effective control of the city's Democrats. There is no doubt that the primary election law of 1902, which ended the caucus system of selecting party candidates for the general election, was quite important. Curran and other district bosses saw the increasing numbers of independent, ward-based candidates who sought and were elected to municipal offices as strong evidence of this trend.[1] Civil service reform, as Crooks has noted, was slower in coming and I think its impact is more difficult to assess.[2] Certainly it did not end the widespread use of patronage. It only insured that loyal followers needed to have some minimum qualifications for office and bosses had to be somewhat more patient in waiting for positions to open up for their lieutenants. Nevertheless, civil service reform made it hard for a boss to consolidate his power quickly upon achieving control of city hall. Since he could not adequately reward all his followers immediately, those who stood further back in the patronage line were increasingly tempted to bolt to a rival faction in return for a promise to be placed near the head of the line or receive more slots when their horse came in. Unlike Baltimore, however, primary election laws and civil service reforms of the progressive era in Pennsylvania did not prevent the growth and long life of a classic municipal machine in Pittsburgh.[3] Why do the progressive reforms produce such different long-term results in America's cities?

The answer in Baltimore's case, I think, is that while the legal strictures on machine politics were important, they were not determinant. The major factor was a profound change in the pattern of Democratic politics in the city and the

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1. Edwin Rothman, "Factional Machine Politics: William Curran and the Baltimore City Democratic Party Organization, 1929–1946," (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1949), pp. 184–88.
2. James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1859 to 1911*, (Baton Rouge, 1968), pp. 72–74.
3. See, for example, Bruce Stave, *The New Deal and the Last Hurrah: Pittsburgh Machine Politics* (Pittsburgh, 1970).

state which coincided with the Progressive Era, but had life and meaning of its own. I am referring, of course, to the breakup of the Rasin-Gorman machine in the first decade of the twentieth century. It is the main thesis of this article that individual leaders and their relationships, not the total organizational structure, determine the continuing strength of machine control, and, that the electoral and civil service reforms of the Progressive era had little effect on this process.[4]

The Rasin-Gorman machine, building on the firm alliance of city and county factions welded together in 1871 by William Pinkney Whyte, sustained this union for almost forty years until Gorman's death in 1906, and Rasin's a year later. Like many despots of long reign, they left no heirs apparent and, in fact, bred a whole generation of younger men fighting over the dual thrones. The result was a battle royal in both city and state, and, more important, the destruction of personal unity between city boss and boss of the counties. Rasin's willingness to remain city boss and leave state control to Gorman had been reciprocated by Gorman, who squelched the efforts of any county political leader to increase power through union with dissident anti-Rasin ward bosses in the city.[5]

All this came to an end in the years 1911–15. John J. (Sonny) Mahon, Rasin's chief lieutenant, attempted to succeed Rasin as city boss, but Frank Kelly, Rasin's other major district boss, resented the move and the party began to separate. The end came when Mahon, influenced by Mayor James Preston, supported Blair Lee for the democratic nomination for governor. Lee and Preston were challenging Emerson Harrington who was the selection of John Walter Smith, the man who was attempting to succeed Arthur P. Gorman. At the last minute, Frank Kelly instructed his ward leaders to vote for Harrington—a decision that played an important role in Harrington's victory over Lee. Kelly, apparently fearing that a Mahon-Preston-Lee machine would extinguish his own organization, decided to throw in his lot with the Smith-Harrington forces. Flushed with state patronage from Harrington, Kelly quickly sought to build a city-wide machine from among ward bosses who were restive under the rule of Mahon and Preston. The city machine fell completely apart in the municipal election of 1919. Kelly's candidate defeated Mayor Preston and the Preston-Mahon men sat on their hands in the general election for mayor, preferring a Republican to a Kelly protegee. They concentrated instead on capturing a majority of the city council seats. The result was the election of William Broening, a personally popular Republican. Broening, however, carried with him only nine of the twenty-eight seats in the first branch of the city council—the other twenty-one were about evenly divided between Kelly and Mahon adherents.[6]

This was certainly the most propitious time for the development of a strong

4. This is an extension of a thesis expressed by Eric L. McKitrick in "The Study of Corruption," *Political Science Quarterly*, 72 (December, 1957): 502–14.

5. John R. Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman* (Baton Rouge, 1953), pp. 30–32, 90–91, 239–43, 334–39, 360–61; Baltimore *News*, March 9, 1907; Baltimore *Sun*, February 8, 1939.

6. Since none of the major figures in Baltimore politics have left any significant collections of political papers, accounts of city politics must rely on Baltimore's newspapers. This essay is based on articles appearing in the *Sun*, *Evening Sun*, *American*, *News* and *Afro-American*. Election returns are available on microfilm at the Baltimore City Board of Election Supervisors.

two-party system in Baltimore, but exactly the opposite occurred. Baltimore's Republican party was too closely associated with Reconstruction and the more immediate threat of black rule. Two black councilmen had been elected with Broening, and the Democrats published statements that Broening would appoint other blacks to city offices where "they will handle the affairs of white people."[7] While less than one-third of the Republican party was composed of black voters, and though black citizens comprised only one-sixth of the city population, they were pictured by the Democrats as a major threat to the system of public and private segregation and white supremacy. Therefore, with the exception of a large minority of Germans and a portion of the Russian and Polish Jews, very few of Baltimore's new immigrant groups were drawn to the Republicans even though they appear to have had difficulty moving rapidly into the upper ranks of the city's Democratic party. The large number of rural white immigrants who entered the city after 1900 came from areas that had a long history of Democratic affiliation and quite naturally moved into the Democratic ranks. While the Republicans were undoubtedly quite active in seeking new registrants, the Kelly and Mahon factions, locked in a nip-and-tuck battle for survival, pulled thousands of nonvoters into the party. By the end of Broening's first term in 1923 the Democrats, who already had 60 percent of the affiliated voters on their books, had registered almost three times the number of new voters as the Republicans.

The only group that registered Republican in overwhelming numbers was the blacks, and this in spite of Broening's effort to shake the black label from his party. He even let the Ku Klux Klan march in Baltimore after Albert Ritchie, the Democratic governor, had rebuffed the Klan several times over parade permits. So frustrated did the city's black leaders become that in 1923 many of them, at the urging of the *Afro-American*, gave support to Howard Jackson, the Democratic candidate for mayor.[8] Therefore the Republicans were totally unable to take advantage of Democratic divisions to build a citywide coalition of voters. Republicans were strong only in the few German and native American wards of south and southwest Baltimore, the Russo-Polish Jewish 5th Ward in east Baltimore, and the two predominantly black wards on the near northwest side—the 14th and 17th. Under the then new six-district system instituted in 1923 for the reformed unicameral city council, the most heavily Republican precincts were gerrymandered into the 4th councilmanic district so that the Democrats would have a fairly easy time controlling the other five.[9] However, after 1931, the Republicans could not even control this one district—largely because its black voters were either slowly drifting into the Democratic party or (as in the majority of cases) refused to vote at all. In addition, the 4th district rapidly filled with upwardly mobile Jews who united in their own very effective local Democratic organization. Indeed, the only Republican on the city council from 1931 to 1942 was Daniel Ellison, a Jewish Republican from the 4th district, who alone was able to capture both black and white votes.

Chastized by the loss of the mayorality in 1919, the city Democrats in 1921

7. Baltimore *Sun*, May 2, 1919.
8. *Afro-American*, April 27, 1923.
9. Baltimore *Sun*, May 9, 1923.

were willing to come together in a peace conference arranged by Governor Albert Ritchie. Ritchie wanted unity among the state's Democrats and prevailed upon Boss Kelly to allow Howard Jackson, a very popular Mahon man, to run for mayor while other city offices and patronage slots were divided equally. Jackson defeated Broening in a landslide in 1923, but while the Democrats captured seventeen of the eighteen city council seats, the Mahon-Jackson councilmen were in the minority. Boss Kelly, with very able help from William Curran and several other of the younger bosses, was more successful than the somewhat older group around Mahon and Jackson. Therefore, the new mayor was not in a favorable position to consolidate the power of the Mahon faction. Moreover, the leadership of the aging and ill Mahon and Kelly was conferred on Jackson and Curran, respectively, with the result that loyalty to either faction became more fluid.[10]

Although one of Baltimore's most popular mayors, Howard Jackson was vulnerable enough both personally and politically to be denied renomination in 1927. He had unwisely channeled thousands of dollars worth of city business into his own firm, and his continual bouts with alcoholism finally led Mrs. Marie Baurenschmidt, a powerful voice of civic virtue, to publicly ask the mayor to either take the cure or resign. Actually, the voters did not seem deeply disturbed by his business dealings, and his existential commitment to alcohol in the midst of Prohibition undoubtedly won him more votes than he lost in one of America's wettest cities. However, Governor Ritchie, wishing to sidetrack Jackson's rise to power, dumped him in favor of William Curran, a man of unquestionable loyalty.

Broening, the popular Republican candidate, defeated Curran in the 1927 election, but was unable to gain a majority on the city council. An analysis of the returns indicates that while some voters in the northwest section rejected Curran because he was Catholic, he lost more heavily in the upper class wards because of his close association with the unsavory Kelly. His inept campaigning in the black sections and his anti-union views also hurt him. His rivals sat by with the hope that an electoral disaster would nip Curran's career in the bud. In fact, all it did was further weaken control at the center of the city Democratic machine. The local ward bosses developed strong, independent neighborhood machines with patronage wrung from the minority Republican mayor in 1919–23 and 1927–31. If Curran was to become the city boss he would have to negotiate with each leader in the six councilmanic districts.[11]

In 1931 Curran and Ritchie recognized the futility of opposing such a popular campaigner as Jackson for the nomination for mayor, but they were able to place Curran men on the ticket for comptroller and council president. In the primary Jackson along with Curran's comptroller was elected, but a group of reformers in combination with several independent ward bosses elected their own choice for council president. Broening, like all Republicans wearing the albatross of the Depression, sensed Jackson's great popularity, refused to run, and thus assured a

10. A most informing source for the years 1925–31 is the reformist weekly, the Baltimore *Observer*, on file in the Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Library.

11. Rothman, "Factional Machine Politics," pp. 61–75; a detailed survey of the six councilmanic districts and their respective leaders appears in a series of articles in the Baltimore *Sun*, January 4–7, 1934.

landslide victory for Jackson. However, lacking control over his city council president and the comptroller, Jackson's power was severely circumscribed. His influence on the state level was still great enough to oppose Ritchie in the 1934 primary for governor. Though he withdrew at the last moment, his supporters failed to back Ritchie sufficiently to hand him the victory. The Republican, Harry Nice, became Governor.[12]

Personal conflict continued to splinter the Democratic party in both Baltimore and Annapolis. Jackson was embroiled in a mayoral contest with Curran and the district bosses in the April 1935 primary. As in 1931, he dominated the mayor's race but was again held short of complete city control. He took eleven of the seventeen Democratic council seats but lost the council presidency to a Curran man. His political future was further impeded by a coalition of Curran, Herbert O'Connor, and Howard Bruce when he lost to O'Connor in the gubernatorial primary of 1938. Thus Howard Jackson's attempt to control city and state politics was effectively thwarted. Curran's triumph with his new allies proved hollow, because Jackson came back in the municipal election of 1939 and swamped the Curran-O'Connor-Bruce machine. He won the mayoral election and carried with him his two running mates and a majority of the city council.

By the time the nation entered World War II, the ever-more-powerful ward bosses showed little loyalty to either Curran or Jackson as they spent increasing efforts in fights over patronage. Both aging leaders would have battled it out again in the 1943 mayor's race, but Curran had split with Governor O'Connor over patronage, and Jackson, sensing increased voter resistance to a fifth term, was willing to make an alliance. This uneasy union was no match, however, against an opponent of great personal popularity. Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin, a Republican almost without a party in the city, defeated Jackson by 20,000 votes. Without any Republican council members, McKeldin had no hope of building a machine of his own, but he could preside over the continuing disintegration of the city Democrats.[13]

Curran's last effort in the city machine was his attempt to back Howard Crook against Thomas D'Alesandro in the 1947 primary, but the popular Congressman from Little Italy swept every district. Curran's influence on the city council was minimal and his state ties broken. D'Alesandro, however, was no Howard Jackson and real power was wielded, as it still is today, by shifting and temporary alliances of local district machines which are themselves often rent asunder by coups and counter coups.

In conclusion, one might reasonably ask, after all this, "what was so good about Baltimore's good old days?" Obviously these were good days for only a select group. For professional politicians and those who enjoy the spectator sport of watching bosses, anti-bosses, and reformers—these were good days for they were filled with people who often loomed larger than life. Baltimore politics was colorful and dramatic because it was important. With Baltimoreans casting half

12. A brief but informative history of Maryland state politics in the years 1920–36 is Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland Between the Wars," in Richard Walsh and William Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 672–722, 730–69.

13. Baltimore *Sun*, April 13, May 21, 1943; Rothman, "Factional Machine Politics," pp. 155–60.

the vote in state elections, anyone who could control that electorate was a primary influence in state politics. Today, the physical city of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area still dominates the state's population, but within the antique municipal boundries of 1918 that define the political jurisdiction called Baltimore City, the voters cast only one-fifth of the total state vote. Finally, the 1920–50 era were good days for those who still held out hope for the two party system, but that hope was dashed by the mid 1920s. On the bright side, the extinction of municipal Republicanism has not spawned an all-powerful Democratic machine. This is because bossism, in the manner of the classic Rasin-Gorman machine, also died in these years—its lingering demise attributable partly to progressive reforms, but in larger measure to the fact that a political machine is not really a machine. It is a human organization presided over by individuals possessed of all the ambitions, jealousies, and misjudgments of mortal men and women.

Manuscript Notes

*A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES AND BOOKS ON MARYLAND HISTORY, 1975**

RICHARD J. COX

THIS IS THE SECOND ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and several changes from the first need to be noted. The categories are determined by the range of writings in any one year. Consequently, I have deleted the "general and unclassified," "biography," and "county" sections. The "county" section has been added to a composite section of "urban, town, county, and local" studies—generally a catch-all of writings that do not fit comfortably into other categories. A more basic change is that each section is listed alphabetically by author (or title if no author) rather than some chronologically as done last year; this is simply an arrangement that, after some reflection, seems easier to work with than the other.

This year's bibliography contains over 270 works, although 26 of those included were actually published in 1974. These represent articles and books coming out late and, of course, those missed. In future bibliographies I will continue to add in such works. Several were communicated after the publication of last year's bibliography, and I hope that individuals noting omissions will inform me of them. Comparing the two bibliographies of over 480 titles total also shows that genealogy heads the list by far (with 143); other categories are fairly evenly distributed.

Again, as mentioned last year, this bibliography includes both popular and scholarly publications and is intended to be a research tool for persons working in Maryland history.

Archaeology, Architecture, and Art†

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Notes and Queries

The General von Steuben Papers project, located at the University of Pennsylvania, is preparing a definitive microfilm edition of the Steuben papers to be published under the auspices of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. We are interested in all correspondence to and from the general and all other materials concerning him. Information and Inquiries should be directed to:

General von Steuben Papers
Van Pelt Library
University of Pennsylvania
3420 Walnut St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19174

The American painter CHARLES BIRD KIND (1785–1862), famous for his portraits of national political figures and of Indians, is the subject of a comprehensive exhibition to be held at the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington, D.C., from October 14, 1977, to January 2, 1978.

Born in Newport, Rhode Island, King studied in New York with Edward Savage from 1800 to 1805, and in London under Benjamin West from 1806 to 1812. After seven years as an itinerant artist in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond, King settled in Washington, D.C., where he remained until his death in 1862. Although known primarily as a portraitist, King painted many subject pictures—still-lifes, genre, fancy pieces, and landscapes—most of which are yet to be located. Any information about king or his works would be much appreciated and may be sent to:

Andrew J. Cosentino (Director of the Exhibition)
11 B Terrace Drive
Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17601

ERRATUM:
Printer erroneously omitted p. 204 from Volume 71, No. 2, Summer 1976.

dissent. Those state constitutions of the Revolutionary period which required officeholders to be Christians, or even Protestants, or which provided for public financial support of Protestant churches, did not differ from him on the most fundamental principle involved.[40]

Nor can any clear-cut distinction be made between Boucher and his Whiggish opponents with respect to motivation. Despite the alarm and demagoguery to which the Quebec Act gave rise among American Whigs, and despite the remarkable tendency among many Protestants to view the British government as in league with Popery, Americans in rebellion found it convenient to moderate their anti-Catholicism in order to cultivate Catholic support both at home and abroad.[41] These exigencies made it easier to discover that the precepts of American liberty applied to Catholics as well as Protestants, and to institute those real advances in tolerance which the new constitutions did recognize. Jonathan Boucher showed that a spirit of toleration could proceed as well from a combination of conservative interests and assumptions. The need to keep Maryland Catholics loyal elicited a defense of toleration entirely compatible with the views of a man who with some reason has been called "the high Tory of the Tory cause in America,"[42] and who was sufficiently wedded to the past as to reject John Locke's Social Compact in favor of Sir Robert Filmer's patriarchal version of the divine right of kings.[43] The human mind is adept enough at combining interest with principle as to make it risky to charge either Whig or Tory with pure cynicism.

There remained a difference between Boucher and his adversaries. Whiggish ideas on toleration worked in the direction of almost absolute individual right in matters of religion; Boucher entertained a perceptibly different vision looking toward the comprehension of legitimate Christian churches within a universal fold. These two approaches to religious toleration were as much complementary as contradictory in the eighteenth century, but the divergence was real, and helps to define the estrangement of the Maryland Loyalist from his adopted country.

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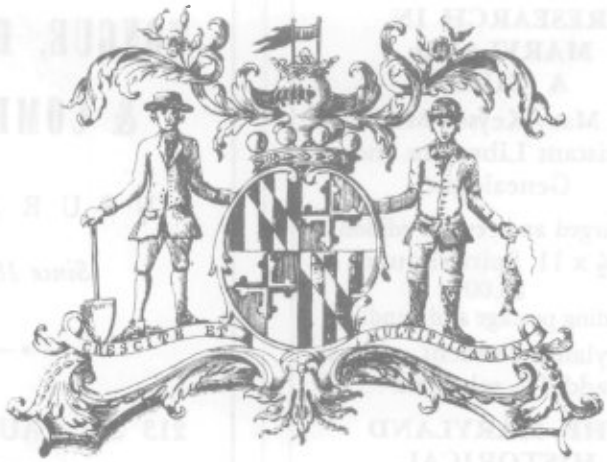
40. On the state constitutions see Sanford H. Cobb, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America: A History* (New York, 1902), pp. 490–507.
41. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1698–1775* (New York, 1962), pp. 258, 333; Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America*, pp. 401–9; Ray, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism*, pp. 259, 265, 275, 309, 338–49.
42. Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, 1620–1800* (New York, 1927), p. 218.
43. Boucher, *Causes and Consequences*, pp. 509–34.



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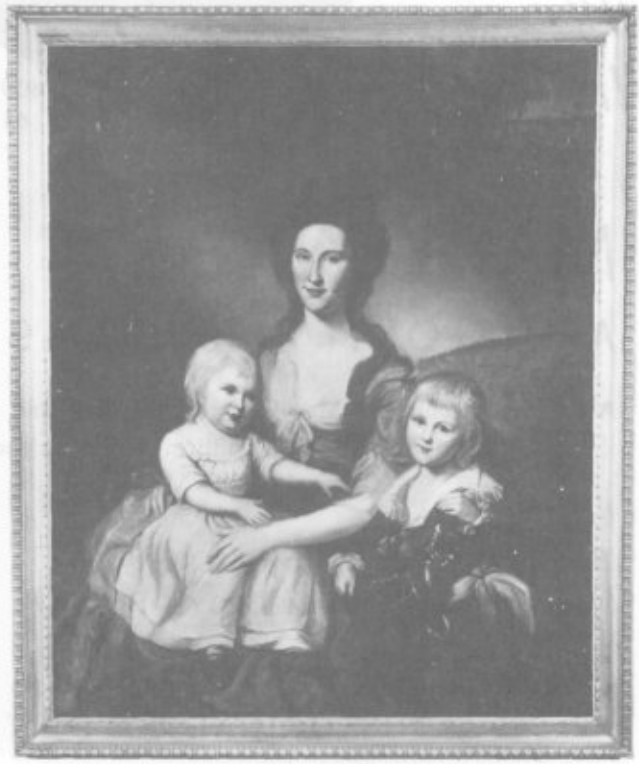

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